JULY 17
1945

NEW MASSES

In C. 2

WHAT'S IN BRITAIN'S BALLOT BOX?

A CABLE FROM LONDON

by CLAUD COCKBURN

THINK FAST, MR. KRUG

DANGER SIGNALS
OF RECONVERSION

by MARCEL SCHERER

CULTURE AND THE PAYCHECK

by SAMUEL SILLEN

ALSO IN THIS ISSUE: Mr. Byrnes Has A Lot to Learn, by John Stuart; Chinese War Diary, by M. Moskvin and V. Petrenko; The French Communists Meet, a cable from Paris, by Yves Moreau; The Heirs to Martin Dies, by Virginia Gardner; Samuel Harper's Russia, by Isidor Schneider; Writing for Films, by Marjorie De Armand.

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BETWEEN OURSELVES

IT COULDN'T be this hot just by itself; we've assigned our interstellar man to look into the rumor that the Nazis managed to rig up that space platform with its sun reflectors after all. It is intimated by sources close to observers that Hitler didn't get one of those nice honorary Spanish citizenships but instead was whisked 5,000 miles up in his custom-built V-278 rocket to a secretly-constructed platform balancing on the edge of gravity, where he is now operating the gigantic reflector with which the Nazis plan to fry everybody to a crisp.

Anyway, we tried to go for a swim in a city pool last Saturday and there was a line of about 175 people waiting patiently in the sun for a chance to get into the locker building and wait some more for their swim. How about more pools, Mr. Moses?

Summer brings vacations, too, and this week Abe Magil and Isidor Schneider are off on theirs. Two other empty offices are those of Joe Foster and Doretta Tarmon: Joe, as you know, is in Hollywood and about to make history with the third annual Hollywood Art Auction this Friday, July 13; and Doretta is in Portland, Oregon. Here's a letter we had from her this week:

"The train is moving, slowly, stopping in every tiny little town and station, but it's on its way to Portland. I wanted to write you many things after spending a few weeks in Hollywood and San Francisco. It would have been difficult for me to tell you about the Hollywood meeting. I knew Hearst's distortions back East, but when his *Examiner* was shoved under my nose bright and early Sunday morning, I didn't recognize that meeting at all. It certainly wasn't our meeting. It was all in Hearst's head.

"I can't tell you how pleased our readers were—how much they enjoyed reading Joe North's pages from England, France, Dachau.

"I want to talk about the letter from Jacques Duclos. I had occasion to speak with many non-members of the Communist Political Association, readers of our magazine, who are very much interested in what the Communists do. I can't deny they were troubled, confused and perhaps suspended in thin air. Many had great disagreements with leading Communists, but they told me they respected highly their thinking, their logic, their forthrightness. They felt troubled about the writings of the Communists for a long time. Teheran was a great achievement, a historical utterance and decision—but they felt the Communists had, in their zealousness to see unity among all people and nations, to defeat the reactionary forces, read much more into Teheran than was ever written. One man said to me, 'I knew the Communists' interpretation of the Teheran concord was wishful thinking—but I said to myself, O.K., they are first-rate organizers and fighters; maybe they can make their wishes come true.'

"Yes, I've heard them speak, but I feel very hopeful because in all their utterances they know, whatever may have been the errors of the Communists, it was caused by the most sincere determination completely to eradicate this century's evil, and they know too that the great ability of the Communists to see their errors, to admit them, to correct them will regain confidence for them, and respect. I found this respect for them everywhere, this confidence that they would chart a correct road. DORETTA TARMON."

AND from France comes a letter from a member of the great French Communist Party:

"Dear Comrades: I wish to receive your review, in order to make an acquaintance with American problems. I would be very glad to have a correspondent in the USA, a Communist as I am, who reads and writes French—a teacher if possible—to exchange ideas, papers and books. I think it would be interesting for us both.

"CLAUDE LAVEAU
Member of the French Communist Party and of the Teachers' Trade Union Council.

Address: Courant P. Loulay (Chte. Mme.), France."

Here is your chance to carry on a very profitable correspondence and add a bit of cement to American-French relationships.

B. M.

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THINK FAST, MR. KRUG

By MARCEL SCHERER

THE period of reconversion is upon us. In the present stage of reconversion, mobilization for victory over Japan remains our primary responsibility. To be able to meet this responsibility we need a careful programming of our production for war and for the reconverted civilian market. Yet the lack of such programming is most alarming.

It would seem that almost all the officials in Washington, including its director Fred M. Vinson, have forgotten the fact that Congress created the Office of War Mobilization and Reconversion to coordinate the reconversion activities of all federal agencies. Let me quote from the law (No. 458—78th Congress) which set up the Office of War Mobilization and Reconversion.

"Section 101 (c): In addition to any powers the President is authorized to and does delegate to the director for the purpose of more effectively coordinating the mobilization of the nation for war, the director shall, subject to the direction of the President—(1) formulate or have formulated such plans as are necessary to meet the problems arising out of the transition from war to peace; (2) issue such orders and regulations to executive agencies as may be necessary to provide for the exercise of their powers in a manner consistent with the plans formulated under this section or to coordinate the activities of executive agencies with respect to the problems arising out of the transition from war to peace. . . .; (3) recommend to the Congress appropriate legislation providing authority to carry out plans developed under this section but not authorized under existing law."

Not only is this law not being carried out by the Director of War Mobilization and Reconversion, but the recent reports of Director Vinson as well as the official pronouncements from the chairman of the War Production Board, J. A. Krug, would indicate a determination to scrap all planning and programming of cutbacks and reconversion. Programming means taking a list of articles needed for war use or for essential civilian use and breaking them down into the materials, facilities, component parts, and, to a degree, manpower involved, and through the application of proper controls allocating and scheduling their manufacture. In this way, facilities, materials and manpower released from war production would be permitted for use in the manufacture of essential civilian goods.

Krug's report of May 27 would have us drop all controls during this transition and rely on "the natural resilience of the economy." The monthly June letter of the National City Bank of New York hails Krug's report as "a document of historic importance." The National City Bank is so enraptured with this statement of Mr. Krug's as an affirmation of "faith in free enterprise" that it erroneously lumps it with the Baruch-Hancock report and the annual report of the War Contracts Sub-committee to the Committee on Military Affairs issued December 18 last, under the signatures of Senators James E. Murray and Harry S. Truman. A review of the Baruch-Hancock report or of the Senators' report will quickly reveal that both warned against a reliance on any natural resilience of the economy and emphasized over and over again the necessity of immediate and careful planning by industry and government.

MR. KRUG has not only issued declarations of principle but has directed the WPB to proceed to put these dangerous "free for all" ideas into practice. A key problem in reconversion is the supply of raw materials. Between now and V-J Day and *for sometime after* there will be a greater demand for raw materials than stocks available. If there are no controls over this limited supply of raw materials it will be the powerful monopolists and speculators who will get to the supplies first. As a matter of fact, a good sized portion of these supplies are already in the plants of key industrialists or are on order for delivery to them. When contracts are cancelled the WPB now permits the manufacturers to use the raw materials on hand which had been purchased for war orders. There are still a dozen or so large manufacturers who hold the bulk of the war contracts and also the bulk of the raw materials now available.

The policy that is being carried out by the WPB is one of "open-ending" the Controlled Materials Plan of the WPB. "Open-ending" means the release from government control of a residual portion of materials for sale in a free market. Open-ending permits manufacturers to place unrated orders with mills for raw materials. Who but the powerful monopolists are in a position today to place orders for the bulk of such materials? Certainly small manufacturers cannot rush in to take advantage of such open-ending, for small business has big problems to solve in disengaging from war production. Small business has finances to worry about, new plant facilities and machine tools, engineering changes and scores of other reconversion difficulties. It is obvious, then, that open-ending is the go-ahead signal for big business. Open-ending would result in a scramble by the powerful, the wealthy and the speculators to obtain this material, not to fulfill the needs of the low-priced mass consumer goods so much as to make luxury and high-priced goods, which offer a greater profit. Here is the most certain path to inflation. Small business would be frozen out. A false boom would get under way, leading inevitably to a quick postwar collapse with disastrous results to small business, to consumers, to workers and to our whole national economy. Open-ending could never lead to a stable and expanded economy utilizing all plant facilities and manpower.

Krug reflects the thinking of those in government war agencies, in the Army and Navy, and in industry who are big business boys and who are impatient to get rid of our war agencies and controls. This they naively call "going back to normal." But this in no way would ease the burdens of our government; it would be an evasion of the complicated problems of reconversion.

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It would mean handing our war economy and our peace economy over to big business to do as they see fit. It would jeopardize our war production at the very moment we are approaching the final and decisive stages of the war. It would be paving the way to certain economic collapse in the postwar period, even though big business might temporarily enjoy a wild inflationary orgy of soaring profits.

way we organize our society. We can and must organize to prevent both."

Isn't it surprising and alarming that Director Vinson does not see the tremendous disparity which exists between his own statements and the work of his own Office of War Mobilization and Reconversion, which is failing to take even the first steps necessary to avoid a new man-made depression?

Time presses strenuously. V-E Day

Fred Ellis' great endowment is his love of people and his extraordinary ability to communicate their needs and hopes with pencil and paint. He was sixty years old a few days ago and wherever he has been he has left something of himself, whether it be his hatred of sham, the anger against injustice, or that deep kinship with workers that characterizes his art. In him the artist and man of action are indivisible. Ever since the *Daily Worker* began publishing, Ellis has enriched its pages and given them that graphic dimension which words never can. Happy birthday, Fred, and many, many more of them.

Obviously the Office of War Mobilization and Reconversion must be called upon to perform its duties and to check this desperate gamble with our war and postwar economy. It is timely to remind Director Vinson of his own words which he recently wrote in a letter to Sen. Robert F. Wagner in support of the Full Employment Bill: "It would be idle to pretend that it will be easy to reach and hold full-employment levels. It would be folly, on the other hand, to pretend that it is impossible. The American people will not be content to go back to protracted large-scale unemployment. It is imperative that we find ways and means to provide jobs for those willing and able to work. Depressions are not acts of God, any more than wars are. They are the product of our man-made institutions and the

did not bring in tremendous numbers of cutbacks because of the need of equipping our enlarged armies in the Pacific. However, we can expect sharply increased cutbacks in July, August and the months thereafter and these cutbacks will inevitably bring large layoffs.

First, it is time to call a halt to Krug's flights of fancy as to the natural resiliency of our economy. These are not the days of Adam Smith. The OWMR must tell Krug that the WPB still has important work to do. Any attempt to go out of existence before our final job is completed is nothing short of deserting one's post in the stress of battle.

Second, the OWMR should set up an inter-agency committee as a general staff to direct the battle of war production cutbacks and reconversion. At the present time each war agency is still doing its job according to its own ideas. Industry and labor still have to run from one agency to another, and after making all the rounds the whole story is still not known. The inter-agency committee should organize the work of all these war agencies to keep production and employment in balance and to avoid mass unemployment of millions. Only such programming could lead to full production and the highest levels of employment.

The law requires the OWMR to "coordinate the activities of executive agencies with respect to the problems arising out of the transition from war to peace. Each executive agency shall carry out the orders and regulations of the director expeditiously and, to the extent necessary to carry out such orders and regulations, shall modify its operations and procedures." (Section 101C.)

Third, the OWMR should consult labor not just on occasions but regularly and fully. Three labor members of the Advisory Board were appointed by the late President Roosevelt. The law specifies that the function of this board is to "advise with the director and make to him such recommendations relating to legislation, policies and procedures as it may deem necessary." (Section 102B.) Philip Murray for the CIO and William Green for the AFL have offered some vital proposals that need adoption.

Fourth, the OWMR has to see to it that small business is not frozen out of war work and faced with bankruptcy. In the War Mobilization and Reconversion Act, Congress clearly intended that in any scramble for materials which may occur after this war, small business must not be pushed aside by big business. The act therefore specifically provides that "in allotting materials for non-war production a percentage of the materials shall be set aside for the exclusive use of small plants." Also, that the chairman of the Smaller War Plants Corporation "must be consulted in fixing the percentage and the methods of apportioning the reserve supply among the small plants themselves." (Section 204.) SWPC chairman Maury Maverick has been a lone voice in the wilderness crying for such control of distribution of materials for small plants, and small plants have already been hard hit for lack of such materials.

Fifth, the act provides that "the Attorney General is directed to make surveys for the purpose of determining any factors which may tend to eliminate competition, create or strengthen mo

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nopolies, injure small business or otherwise promote undue concentration of economic power" in this period of reconversion.

Since the Attorney General has shown no interest in this problem, the OWMR might start by holding an open house for small business and inviting the Attorney General to be present. He will get plenty of evidence of this growing danger of monopolies' strangulation of small business.

Sixth, Section 501 of the act establishes a sound program of loans or advances by the Federal Works Agency for the advance planning of postwar public works by states and local communities. Indispensable to a successful reconversion is a complete program of public works. If the project plans are ready and finances made available this will help bridge the transition period of unemployment and maintain the worker's buying power.

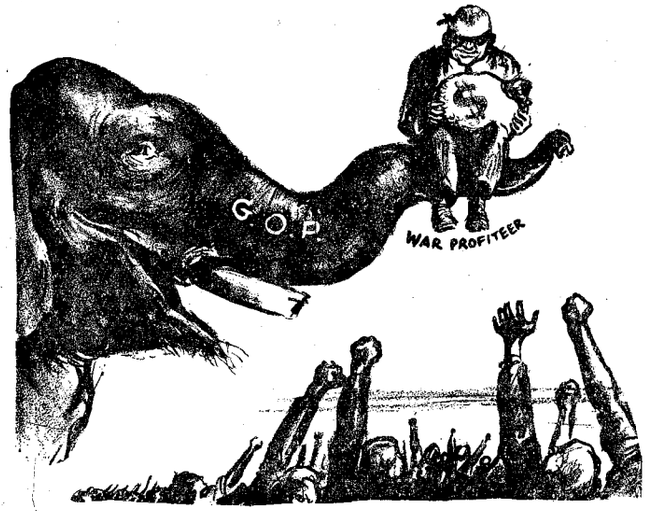
Krug's policy is an attempt to deny and to defeat this cardinal step in reconversion. There is one section of Mr. Krug's report which the National City Bank letter says "deserves special attention," and we quote it in detail: ". . . As the cutbacks increase, some areas are bound to experience unemployment. *In that event local chambers of commerce, union leaders and businessmen may urge the government to take special measures, such as providing a public works program, or putting in war contracts to tide over the slump, or making special releases of materials for civilian production.*

"In many areas, *time will solve such dislocations,* as peacetime industries start up and hire workers; but in some areas, *special measures taken to maintain employment would merely postpone the eventual day of reckoning*—as for instance a war-boom town which is greatly expanded because of a particular war plant with little or no postwar future. We must prepare to meet such emergencies when they are real; but *we must also be prepared to resist the pressure when they would only delay necessary readjustments.*"

Fred Ellis looks at Greece. Below, a comment on the home front.

FINALLY we come to the human factor in reconversion. Two of the most pressing aspects of this question are (1) increasing unemployment insurance benefits and (2) maintaining the take-home pay when overtime is abolished and hours are cut.

The value of our production increased to nearly $200,000,000,000 in 1944 from $99,000,000,000 in 1929, and one-half of our production consisted of war contracts. Senators Truman and Murray in their December 18 report warned "*when war contracts are withdrawn, the danger is that the entire edifice will topple over. Unless an economic substitute is found for war contracts, mass unemployment will become a serious problem and the number of unemployed men and women in this country will surpass anything that was dreamed of during the last depression.*"



This means that everything must be done to maintain the purchasing power of the mass of our people to permit the operation of our mass consumer products industries during reconversion and postwar. For those temporarily laid off, increased unemployment benefits must be provided. For months the old WMB kept strangely silent on this issue. Fortunately, President Truman has sent a stirring message to Congress insisting on legislation to increase the unemployment benefits, to extend the period of benefits and to apply benefits to millions of federal Civil Service workers and merchant seamen who were not previously covered.

The most important phase of the human aspect of reconversion is to maintain wages to keep up the purchasing power of the masses. The specific recommendation of labor is for an immediate wage increase of twenty percent. It might be well to bear in mind that when overtime is abolished and hours cut back to forty, there will be a loss up toward $12,000,000,000 of mass purchasing power if the take-home pay is not maintained. This would be a staggering blow to our national economy and would endanger a stable postwar economy. It would be well to note that present incomes dropped in April by four percent, that is, $506,000,000. The month after V-E Day will probably show a greater drop because of layoffs and cut in hours. This

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is a challenge to President Truman, to Director Vinson and to the War Labor Board. To neglect it is to throw the economy of our reconversion period onto the road of sure depression.

Another serious problem affecting production and wages is the fact that we are way behind in our textile and lumber program. 150,000 workers are needed immediately to insure our production schedules for military and essential civilian needs. The shortage of labor that exists in textiles as well as in lumber is due to the substandard wages paid. The manufacturer of automobiles may be bottlenecked by a lack of textiles and certainly no construction program is possible without an improvement in the lumber situation. It is the job of the OWMR to correct this situation and to see that wage rates are raised in these two industries.

To the credit of Director Vinson is his proclaimed wholehearted support for the Full Employment Bill No. S-380. But there are many steps that must be taken now to protect our changing economy so that it will still be able to serve as a base for a full employment program. To speed reconversion we have to stop Krug's reckless policy—a policy that can delight only big business. Krug has admitted "reconversion is impossible without temporary dislocations." His actions would seem directed to speed the day, the extent and the severity of these dislocations. Krug's policy will not speed reconversion; it will speed chaos, inflation and depression.

If the OWMR needs funds or an increase of its organization, then it should call a meeting of labor, business and agriculture who will warmly support such a proposal and then mobilize the people to demand action from Congress.

Such plans have already been proposed. Labor (CIO, AFL and the Railroad Brotherhoods) offered key proposals to President Truman and Director Vinson. Small business has presented a clear program. Other business groups such as the Committee for Economic Development have warned against the sudden relaxation of wartime controls. On all sides voices have been raised to warn against these reckless programs which reflect only the narrow, selfish interests of big business. Since we are already in the period of reconversion, these reconversion plans must be put into effect. The people must insist that chaos stop.

Mr. Scherer is the representative of District 4, United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers-CIO.

WHAT'S IN BRITAIN'S BALLOT BOX?

By CLAUD COCKBURN

London (by cable)

THIS is life between the acts. Nobody but a fool would claim to be able to spot just how the stage is going to look when the curtain rises on the election results July 26. Meanwhile murderers and their victims are getting a decent show in the headlines again. There is space to report and leisure to reflect upon the strange story of the American "gunman deserter" whose last year of World War II—from the invasion of Normandy, through the flybombs, through the battle of Berlin—was seemingly spent in hiding around London's West End, in streets sometimes convulsed by high explosives, sometimes ringing with cheers of V-E Day crowds. The claustrophobic "Doc Weeks," who got so fed up with life on this island that he tried to sail to Tobago in a thirty-five-foot boat without a chart, has been brought back from somewhere beyond the Canary Islands.

People who for weeks spent the long summer evenings ringing other peoples' doorbells in the election canvasses are packing the theaters, cheering for minutes on end the players of the *Comedie Francaise* in its first London season. Lord Beaverbrook's *Evening Standard*, which earned the distinction of conducting the dirtiest election campaign of any newspaper, has announced that it will now devote considerable of its meager space to the publication of short fiction stories—this time actually labelled as fiction. And in almost every street and barracks and camp there are sizable groups of angry men and women who, because the Tories rushed the snap election, found themselves disfranchised by an out-of-date electoral register and declare "if the Tories get in it won't be our fault. They wouldn't let us vote." This is true on a huge—dangerously huge—scale. Because there is a score or so of elections still to be held—principally in the towns where the traditional workers' holidays for which workers have arrangements months in advance made complete polling on July 5 impossible. Nobody, therefore, at the big central offices is prepared to take down his hair and disclose publicly his true hopes and fears about the way things have gone.

Thus Tory headquarters still is under the necessity of announcing through the Beaverbrook press and from strangely anonymous sources the firm belief that the Tories are in with a "comfortable" majority. (For comfort they would need approximately 350 seats out of 640 in the new Parliament.) There are, however, a number of points whereon privately there is a pretty general consensus of all parties and these are points which for the most part will have bearing on future developments, whatever the results may look like. Here are some of them.

Whatever divergence of estimates about how it will express itself in terms of seats in the new House of Commons there is agreement that the leftward swing of opinion in the country—and particularly in what hitherto were the most backward rural districts—is sensational. The Tories naturally hope that this will be concealed by a split of the votes and possibly confused and smothered by the existence of people who even on July 5 thought that the Winston Churchill of the high peaks of the war period was still available and among us to be voted for. They did not perceive that the personage disappeared as absolutely and finally as if he died on V-E Day.

The second point—with particular importance for the future—concerns what may be called the internal relationships on both sides. We have witnessed to begin with the gravest split in the Conservative (Tory) Party ever since this century. It began, or at least it began to be visible—at the Tory Party conference early this year. There the breadth and width of division between the outlook and aims of the mass of Tory delegates filling the floor and filling most of the back seats of the platform, and those of some "moderate" or at least sane anti-fascist Tory chiefs to whom most prominence was given, was already striking.

I will confess that most of us there interpreted that scene and set-up the wrong way around. We thought the moderates of the party were just giving the wild boys and the near fascists a run for the money, letting them kick

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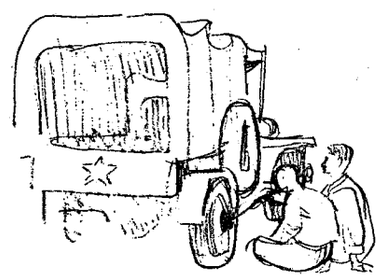
up their heels before the serious people got back to serious business. In any event, it turned out that it was simply not so. On the contrary, it was the moderates who were being given their last little fling.

What we know now is that the right-wingers captured the party and Winston Churchill just as soon as defeat by Germany was no longer possible. Since about the time of the final crossing of the Rhine right-wing domination has been absolute. It was the right-wing group which called the snap election, with this group being led by Lord Beaverbrook and Brendan Bracken, who has been described not only by friends as the greatest First Lord of the Admiralty since Noah but as the greatest propagandist since Ananias. They pulled the election. Even three weeks before Churchill's letter to the Labor Party calling for an election they had one big electrical factory in London working on the production of gramaphone records with their election songs, programs and so forth. They have also been in almost complete control of the running of the election campaign itself.

Do not underestimate the significance for the future of the fact that the London *Times* has ostentatiously refrained from associating itself with the Churchill-Beaverbrook campaign. Do not underestimate the significance of that London *Times* editorial which in the middle of the campaign declared that the Conservative Party had no constructive program comparable with that of the Labor Party. Do not underestimate the significance of the fact that the *Observer*, the influential Conservative weekly owned by a young, intelligent if somewhat confused scion of the Astor family, ended up the campaign by adopting an attitude of very unfriendly neutrality towards the Tories.

The *Times* itself spoke of deep divisions within the Tory party. These are divisions deep and vital in this crucially changing and almost revolutionary period of English life. These are divisions which in themselves express the vast jolting and dislocation of the traditional ruling class which has occurred during World War II. The important if faintly paradoxical seeming fact is that among the great powers of Tory Britain there are important and perhaps decisive forces which regard with horror all the implications of the extreme right Tory program, of the program as formulated by the near fascists and polished by Beaverbrook and sold to the country by Winston Churchill. They of the *Times* saw the wild dogs loose on the floor of the Tory party conference. They know very well what these people are like, they understand their savagery, their ignorance and their irresponsibility. They know that these people are now in control of the Tory party executive and of the Tory party machine. They know that they include ex-members of the Nazi organization "The Link" and of Ribbentrop's pet organization, "The Anglo-German Fellowship." They realize that these people are as wildly grasping and at the same time foolish in their hatred of the United States as in their hatred and fear of the Soviet Union. They are people who will stop at nothing to keep their own financial heads above water for another few years whatever deluge overwhelms the world after that. The serious Tories—serious people in financial life and elsewhere—who are concerned for the future however much they may lack understanding of its needs—are not merely concerned about this quite evident trend but are plainly scared.

On the other side, the most striking development is the development of a working unity within the labor movement which is acknowledged by Labor Party election agents and candidates all over the country. I might remind you that early this year Herbert Morrison in a nominally off the record talk to Labor electioneers in the London area urged them to avoid attacks against the Tories and Liberals and suggested that the main line should be an attack on the Communist Party. The realities of the situation and of this election have proved both to Morrison and apparently everyone else the futility and folly of such a policy. Morrison himself, it must be said, has not pursued that line. Nor have any other responsible Labor leaders and it is noticeable that there has hardly been in any constituency any serious attempt to raise a "Communist bogey." Brendan Bracken tried it once on the air and Churchill tried it once and I am told that some of the extreme right Tories have been attempting it in constituencies. But in general "the old Red scare ain't what it used to be." And this is also a matter of the most serious importance for the future because all through the country—and this is no wishful thinking or exaggeration—the Labor Party agents and candidates have not only accepted the fullest cooperation of the Communists but have recognized sincerely the decisive part which Communist assistance, Communist understanding, and Communist energy have played in the campaign.



Lasker.

Those are the things I would single out as basic features of the situation. They also amount to this. The left is in a majority in the country—a majority which may not be expressed in the Commons—and the country is moving towards a unity it has not fully reached. The right is split in a fashion which is really a split between the perpetual fascists and those forces, whether in the Tory or Liberal parties, which believe in and are determined to find another way out.

If you ask me on the eve of the declaration of the election results what those results will be I can do no more than give you a couple of ideas being pretty widely canvassed here. If the Tories were, improbably, to achieve a full majority then their policy would necessarily result in a deliberate organization and fostering of a form of British fascism designed both to produce offensive shock troops and to create a mass following of ruined men in support of the policy which ruined them. If there is in effect a deadlock then we shall either achieve something like the system of legislation by a series of shifting coalitions which so often happens in the United States Senate and which sometimes, despite sneers, did operate effectively in France; or we shall be in for another still fiercer election within a maximum of one year and probably much less.

If Labor achieves a majority then the question is only how vigorously new forces flooding into power within the labor movement will be able to assure radical and extirpatory action by labor and the people against any who may seek to carry out Churchill's threat of disorder and "parliamentary eclipse" in the event of a Labor Party victory, and how rapidly the same forces will be able to put into effect a program voted for by millions who followed with enthusiasm the slogan given to them by a soldier writing to his wife to direct her how to use his proxy vote. "Vote as Red as you can" was what he said. I believe that the situation within the labor movement is now such that the answer to those last questions is, "Yes we can do it, yes we will do it."

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THE N.M.U. ROLLS UP ITS SLEEVES

By HANK TALKINGTON

A TENSE drama unfolded in the opening days of the National Maritime Union Convention.

The men from the ships again found themselves in the vanguard of struggle against reaction and fascism as they were in the strikes of 1935-37 and in the torpedo attacks of this war. But this time the attack came from Washington, where a 33 1/3 percent pay cut threatened the merchant seamen as the war bonus was scheduled to be slashed beginning July 15. This was undoubtedly a first gun in a nationwide drive against labor and living standards.

How would the NMU answer? Would the seamen fall for the provocation? Or would they keep their role of leadership in the fight against fascism at home and abroad?

The first cue came from the banners on the platform: Uphold the no-strike pledge! Smash reaction through political action! Seamen rate decent pay for decent homes! The answer was even more clear when 300 elected delegates from the ships and ports vigorously applauded President Joseph Curran's declaration that the 90,000-strong union would not rest until fascism everywhere is ended. It came again when he added that "we will not let up on our no-strike pledge until the war on Japan is over." At the same time Curran warned the wage-cutters that the NMU will find new forms of struggle by taking the case to the people through political action.

"It's hard to tell the difference between the shipowners and the Maritime War Emergency Board," said Vice-President Howard McKenzie in proposing for the negotiating committee that a telegram be sent to this government body opposing a bonus cut until the seamen's demand for a fifty-five cent minimum hourly wage could be taken up with the War Labor Board, where there are strong indications of a favorable reply in a few weeks. The telegram was sent with copies to President Truman and Chairman Davis of the War Labor Board—"short and sweet, so there won't be any technicalities to be seized on for further delays."

It was decided that rank-and-file seamen be included in the negotiating committee for a flying trip to Washington. Curran designated six tables on the convention floor and asked each to pick one man to go to Washington. This informal procedure indicates the lively democratic policies which have given the NMU its basic strength.

$15,000 was voted for a series of newspaper advertisements in the major port cities to carry the story of seamen's substandard wages to the public; also for throwaway leaflets, petitions and postcards. The use of radio, mass meetings, delegations and other forms of political demonstration were outlined for convention action. "All resources of our union must be thrown into the fight to prevent wage cuts and to maintain and better the conditions of seamen," said a resolution recalling the great sacrifices made by seamen during the war. "As firmly now as on Dec. 7, 1941, we resolve that our no-strike pledge shall be maintained religiously until the final and complete defeat of fascist Japan."

The convention was brought up short by the unexpected casting of four votes against the no-strike resolution. A move to reconsider came from the floor and the rank-and-filers hit the deck in great numbers asking the four delegates to change their votes in the interests of the union. One pro-strike delegate more or less revealed his Social-Democratic-Trotskyite stripe by his remarks that the no-strike pledge smelled "finky" to him and by calling for its repeal so "the NMU could rejoin the working class."

Joseph Curran's retort was that he thought "a major part of the working class is fighting in the Pacific jungles." One delegate after another stressed the need for the NMU to help build the unity of all anti-fascist forces for waging political war on fascism at home along with military war on fascism abroad.

"Joe Shipowner doesn't want to raise our pay," said vice-president Frederick N. Myers, "and the agents of Joe Shipowner want to split our ranks on the question of strikes. We'll tell Joe Shipowner, we'll tell the Japs and we'll tell what's left of Europe's fascists that we will not be provoked into strikes under any conditions." Finally, after a brisk discussion, the vote to uphold the pledge was made unanimous.

During the discussion on wages, several speakers had made the point that all such economic questions must be integrated with the general CIO program and particularly with political action.

A bill to raise wage minimums to sixty-five cents per hour with seamen included was discussed by Sidney Hillman, a guest speaker, who went on to emphasize that PAC's job was not done.

"I can also assure you that in 1946 we will do just a little better than in 1945," Hillman said, warning of continued efforts to wreck Big Three unity. He stressed the role that labor must play throughout the world to "make sure the forces of durable peace are organized" and predicted a unanimity in launching the new world labor body in Paris next fall that will be a great defeat to the disrupters of international unity.

Up for consideration as NM went to press was an extensive resolution on political action which strongly attacks Congress for its refusal "to pass the anti-poll tax bill, its assault on FEPC, on price control, on organized labor and its cynical disregard of the human needs of reconversion." Pointing to the "alarming evidence that the philosophy of fascism is still on the march here at home," the resolution calls upon the NMU membership, the entire labor movement and "all patriotic sections of American life to join in an intensified campaign of political action to rout every vestige of fascist philosophy from the American scene, beginning with the halls of the United States Congress." One delegate, discussing the importance of PAC, warned that "we can win a dime on the picket line and then lose fifteen cents from a sneak attack through Congress."

Among the guest speakers was Admiral Waesche of the Coast Guard, who was warmly praised for the way his officers have maintained good labor relations while in authority over the men and the safety provisions aboard ships.

In electing committees, the rank-and-file delegates voted carefully for the men considered best qualified to carry out the job ahead. And Port Agent Joe Stack said, "I am sure if all of us work hard, with the great and honest leadership of our president, Joe Curran, this will be one of the finest conventions we have ever had."

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THE HEIRS TO MARTIN DIES

By VIRGINIA GARDNER

Washington.

"WHEN *The Committee* [on Un-American Activities] was organized," Rep. Herbert C. Bonner (D., N. C.) said, "it was my understanding that the chairman alone, not the acting chairman or any member, would give out all press releases, and have authority over the committee staff."

Bonner would make no other comment on the proposed "investigation" of Hollywood that the committee is sponsoring. From other sources, however, it was learned that when the committee voted on the investigation, at least some of the members understood it was a vote to conduct not a full-scale investigation, but a routine checkup of "complaints" from Rep. John Rankin (D., Miss.), violent anti-Semite and "white supremacist." Nevertheless Rankin, acting as chairman during the illness of Rep. Edward J. Hart (D., N. J.), announced that "the setting up of Communist headquarters in California warrants the main attention of the Un-American Activities Committee. It indicates that Moscow is now massing its subversive forces in the Pacific theater of the war."

Hart has resigned because of ill health. As we go to press Rep. Henry M. Jackson (D., Wash.), choice of the administration forces, Rep. John S. Gibson (D., Ga.,), choice of the poll-taxers, and Bonner were being discussed for the post. Republicans and poll-taxers opposed the choice of Jackson, who recently fought Rankin to support the federal pay bill giving federal workers an increase. Gibson complained that though he himself would "do a darn good job," the left-wing elements in the country just wouldn't let him be named. Bonner, who at the time the committee was set up told this reporter he would not join in any witch-hunt, or persecution of individuals, reportedly had turned down the chairmanship but was being urged to reconsider.

The committee's hearings on alleged subversion in OPA radio scripts—on the basis that some were uncomplimentary about certain businessmen—have been received coolly by most of the Democrats, particularly J. W. Robinson, of Utah. Except for the Republicans and Rankin, little enthusiasm is felt for the Hollywood investigation.

One member, commenting on it, said, "From the moment we began meeting, and exhaustively considering a staff, going over each applicant carefully, certain members took the attitude, 'Let's investigate somebody.' After two days of those OPA hearings, I didn't know what it was all about. Seems to me that you ought to tell a man what he's charged with, and it ought to be something tangible."

Unless a chairman with some guts is named, however, Rankin and the Republicans will continue to dominate the committee. And if they do, a more militant fight against Red-baiting will have to be conducted than ever was mobilized against the old Dies committee or a witch-hunt in all its most disruptive, repressive phases will ensue. The new committee is a standing committee, not a temporary one, and far more powerful than the old Dies committee was. It is so set up that it could be a constructive force in routing out fascism, but to date it has been bent on the same un-American course Dies followed.

TO SHOW what the committee has in mind it is only necessary to repeat what Rep. Karl E. Mundt (R., S. D.) told me in a lengthy interview. Mundt and Rep. J. Parnell Thomas (R., N. J.) are the only survivors of the Dies committee.

One member of the committee has declared that some members seem to feel they are above the Supreme Court, and more powerful. Mundt seems to take a slightly different position. As I gather, he feels that the committee is above the Constitution. It doesn't need to bother with what is legal or illegal.

"John W. Davis, and the Brookings Institute—" he paused, gulped slightly, and added, "and Harold Ickes—have pointed out that a thing could be un-American and still be constitutional." Whatever Davis or the Brookings Institute said, this is obviously a distortion of anything said by Ickes, who constantly and courageously has fought the Dies smear technique and refused to be browbeaten into firing his employes just because the former congressman smeared them.

"Some of the cases of persons arrested since Pearl Harbor seem to bear out the same thing," Mundt went on. What cases? "The Bridges case and the German Bundists," he replied. I pointed out that Harry Bridges, the CIO longshoremen's leader, was arrested years ago, that his first trial was in 1939, that his second trial was held before Pearl Harbor. And how did he figure out that the Supreme Court said he was un-American? "Well, the Supreme Court said it didn't make any difference if he was an alien, that he had Constitutional rights—after Mr. Biddle found he was un-American." In Mundt's mind, apparently, exercising your Constitutional rights of free speech can mean only one thing—that you're un-American. And what was the similarity beween the Bridges case and the Bundists, I asked? He admitted it was only they were deportation cases.

"Now your organization," he said at another point. "It's legal." Yes, I said, the Communists are a perfectly legal organization. "And," he went on, "anti-Semitic organizations—I can't find anything in the law that says they're illegal, but they're un-American. Discrimination against the colored people isn't illegal, but it's un-American. The exception is New York State." He himself, he wasn't "Jewish, or anti-Jewish," he said blandly. This, it happens, is one of the cliches used by the counsel for the House Military Affairs

The Un-Americans

We have a new Attorney General but the old sedition case sleeps on; and old and new un-Americans intensify their activities. Their anti-Negro, anti-Semitic, anti-labor agitation is impeding the war effort and laying mines of fascist violence for the post-war years. Meanwhile the unwanted "Congressional Committee on un-American Activities" is showing itself true to the evil Dies heritage. Demand action against the seditionists, action against the un-American race-baiters. Write to the Attorney General's office, and to your Congressman, today!

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Committee, Ralph Burton, former counsel for the anti-Semitic Father Charles Coughlin, the fascist. Burton it was who produced the recent Red-baiting report of that committee on "Communism in the armed forces."

"Do you make any distinction between Communism and fascism, Mr. Mundt?" I asked.

"Oh, yes," he said. "I'm not indicating there's any parallel. But I resist both equally."

"Would you say that the Dies committee resisted both equally?"

Mr. Mundt has a broad, flaccid white face, and he wore white flannels. It was the Fourth of July and he was going somewhere to celebrate when I saw him, and he said he had only a few minutes—but now he appeared to be in no hurry. He sat lost in thought. "Well," he said finally, "I wouldn't say as to the Dies committee in the old days—I was with it only the last two years. While it is perfectly true we named more people who were Communists or Communist-front, we convicted as many fascists as Communists."

"You convicted Communists?"

"Well, we didn't convict—but we conducted an investigation which led to Earl Browder's conviction."

"Oh," I said, "so that was your job? And who else did you convict?"

He filled his pipe, thought, mentioned the case of three government employes. "You mean you just got them fired, don't you?" I said. It was in the courts, he persisted. "And they took it to the courts, didn't they—isn't that why it is there?" Oh, yes, he said easily. What other convictions? Why, none, he answered, a little petulantly now, "because you're a legal party." It was tough, I agreed sympathetically. Their method was to "correct, not necessarily by arrests but exposures."

He admitted that the committee was about "evenly divided" on the Hollywood investigation business. "Some of them said, let's go ahead and investigate, and then let the facts speak for themselves, see if hearings are warranted. But others, in view of the chairman's illness—" he paused, perhaps realizing this might sound as if they took advantage of his illness, then floundered on, "thinking the public wanted to know what we were doing—the great interest—and thinking that with such a general announcement there wasn't much likelihood of flushing our birds—" he trailed off.

I asked whether William Randolph Hearst had inspired the inquiry. "It's possible, if Hearst made any complaints, they might be in our file," he said. "But I haven't heard of any Hearst crusade. Of course if they give us any leads, we'll run 'em down."

When the Dies committee expired at the beginning of the 79th Congress, the elaborate files kept by the Dies committee office at San Francisco, Chicago and New York were sent here. A staff still is in the process of culling them over, Mundt said, weeding out duplications, and indexing them more according to what was desired by the FBI, the Navy Intelligence and the Army Intelligence, all of whom have men working with the committee. The files were voluminous, piles of them reaching to the ceiling, he said. "We have a larger file on strictly subversive activity and organizations than the FBI," he said proudly. How many names? "I wouldn't dare to guess how many." His pale eyes watered.

Investigators were on their way to California now, he said. Later fifteen or twenty might be added, but he admitted the committee would have to vote on adding that many.

"MR. MUNDT," I asked the Congressman, a supply of whose speeches were found in the possession of the Nazi agent, Laura Ingalls, when she was arrested, "in view of the report by the House Military Affairs Committee, and the arrest of the six people by the State Department (for the 'theft' of secret documents) and your hearings on the OPA writers, and now this investigation of Hollywood, a good many people are wondering if this means a full-scale Red hunt of the old order is impending. Would you say they were justified in that?"

"It all depends," he replied, "on how active, how aggressive and how arrogant subversive groups in this country become."

More questions and answers that followed:

Q. What do you mean, arrogant? Is there anything illegal in being arrogant? What is your idea of being arrogant? A. Unless they get arrogant they won't attract public attention, but if they begin holding mass demonstrations—

Q. Mass demonstrations about what? A. Oh, anything. So long as they just hold little quiet meetings and discuss their ideology, they aren't very dangerous. I know what you mean—will there be a Red hunt like there was after the last war, when there was a tendency toward super-patriotism? Well, there was a little group out West, the IWW, and they weren't very dangerous. But then, they got arrogant, they hanged some judge, I believe, and decent people finally got disgusted.

I laughed. Was that what he meant by arrogant? Wasn't "arrogant" a slight understatement? Well, he said, "we're going to stay on the beam, we're just going after un-Americanism. But there will be a lot of organizations, and a lot of people, who may want to do more. Now, our job will be to identify, and to pacify maybe, a lot of organizations springing up, that are accused of this or that. We'll be the classifying bureau, picking between good and bad."

Q. That would be fine, if you were all God-like individuals without any prejudices yourselves. But don't you think you had an obligation, in this Hollywood business, to investigate before you started a hue and cry? A. We haven't named any names, or any industry, or any group. Again, he declared, "There is no tendency on our part to single out any group or ism—I think there were other elements than Communism involved in the arrest of the six."

Q. Oh, were they arrested for Communism? That is the first time I've heard that admitted. A. You mentioned them in the first place.

Q. Certainly, as did many radio commentators and columnists, who said they wouldn't have been arrested if the material published had been favorable to State Department policies. A. If you think the FBI arrested them because they were against the State Department—I can tell you that some of the elements working were on the left, and some on the right. I think the arrests were wisely made.

Asked in effect if that was one of their jobs, too, he said smugly they had something to do with it. "We had a great deal of material in our files on two of them, not so much on two others, and nothing on the other two."

He bragged that it didn't require committee action to, in effect, put the finger on someone in government. Their counsel went to see personnel heads in government agencies and reported persons of suspicion.

"Or some member can do it," he said. "If I'm out to dinner with J. Edgar Hoover [FBI chief] I can pass on a lead."

Eventually Mr. Mundt became reminiscent. He hadn't known many Communists, he started to say—then stopped himself. What an admission for

(*Continued on page 22*)

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THE FRENCH COMMUNISTS MEET

By YVES MOREAU

Paris (by cable).

THE tenth congress of the French Communist Party was held in Paris during the last week of June. It was a magnificent assemblage which recorded the fact that the French Communists have the largest party in the country and that its membership totals 906,627. In the halls where the congress took place were the portraits of Gabriel Peri, Pierre Semard, Felix Cadras, Barthelmy Ramier, Charles Nedelec, Georges Wodli, Daniele Casanova—all heroes who were either executed by the Nazis or assissinated by Vichy. Among the 1,300 delegates to the congress eighty-two were old members rescued from Nazi extermination camps, 187 were former prisoners of war, and 378 had spent time as political prisoners in German and Vichy dungeons.

The record of the Communist Party is known to the whole nation. Despite its illegal status in 1939, it nevertheless continued to battle the French capitulators. In 1940, when France was invaded by the Nazis, the French Communists were the first to rush to the defense of their country at a moment when all other parties had collapsed. The Party played a leading role in preparing and directing the national insurrection—an insurrection to which General Eisenhower paid great tribute as having aided the Allies move rapidly toward victory in France. The feeling of French workers for the Communist Party was expressed in the hundreds of messages sent to the congress. There were also many delegations that came to say how much the French people appreciated the Communist Party and its enlightened and heroic leadership. A young Breton girl in native costume brought a basket of her farm products and embraced Marcel Cachin, the editor of *L'Humanite* and an old and beloved comrade who was the first signer of the historic call to insurrection in Paris. There was a delegation of porters from the markets, all of them physically strong and powerful men. They were dressed in their characteristic blue blouses and large brimmed hats and they came to offer fruit. There was Marcel Prenant, a professor at the Sorbonne and author of the well known book *Biology and Marxism*, who had just been repatriated from an extermination camp. There were many other visitors who brought tokens of their friendship for the Communists.

Those at the congress listened to many reports dealing with the future of France. Maurice Thorez, the Party's secretary, spoke for almost five hours. Andre Marty discussed the need for a national constituent assembly. Jacques Duclos spoke on the unity of the French working class as the basis of a union of all Republicans. In a constructive plan, Thorez accented the necessity of renewing commerce outside of France in order to protect France's position in the world market and not let her domestic commerce be crushed by foreign rivalry. After outlining the critical state of France's internal economy, Thorez spoke forcibly against those who oppose increasing France's stock of tools from abroad. He emphasized that expanding production was the primary question of the moment and the "first condition of our greatness." He denounced the trusts and the monopolists who, after collaborating with the enemy, are now doing everything to sabotage production and economic recovery. He praised the program of the National Resistance Council, which saw the need to liquidate quickly the last vestiges of Vichy and to nationalize the great means of production and exchange. Thorez, along with Waldeck Rochet and other speakers also reported on the rehabilitation of the farmers and defense workers. They called for the establishment of democratic fiscal laws, the confiscation of the property of traitors and the nationalization of the credit system.

The halls of the congress were decorated with banners reading "The source of all sovereignty is the people." Other banners quoted from the "Declaration of the Rights of Man." Andre Marty pointed out that failure to apply these principles leads a country to disaster. "It is time," he said, "that the provisional government give way to a legal government; and it is only right that the government be that which expresses the will of the people." After hearing Marty, the congress expressed its deep desire for a national election.

Jacques Duclos, hailed by repeated cries of "Unity! Unity! Unity!" analyzed the charter of unity elaborated by the Communist Party's Central Committee, which projected the establishment of a single French workers' party founded on scientific socialism and organized according to the principles of democratic centralism. The congress approved, moreover, proposals to be made to the Socialist Party to develop without delay united action between the two parties to the maximum. He showed how the unity of the working class could lead to the unity of all republicans and is thus the indispensable base of France's rebirth.

The problems of France's foreign relations occupied the congress for a long time. The unity of the leading Allies was hailed as the condition for assuring a durable peace. Thorez recalled that "we ought not to forget that in order to chase the Germans from our land, Allied aid was necessary. We will again have need of the cooperation of our friends and Allies. This should bring an attitude of modesty and prudence instead of vain talk of France's greatness." After greeting the results of the San Francisco Conference, Thorez insisted on the necessity of destroying the base of German fascism in accordance with the Yalta agreement. German war industry must be diminished and controlled and the monopolists and trusts suppressed. He explained how the international cartels, which have not resigned themselves to Hitler's defeat, will try to take up again in Germany and permit Germany's rearmament. On reparations, Thorez favored payment in kind and utilization of German manpower for reconstruction.

Another outstanding Communist, Florimond Bonte, also devoted himself to international questions. He showed that French foreign policy should not be words of "prestige," nor of dangerous power blocs, but should be a policy expressing confidence in the people and not dependent on reactionary groups. When he said that a realistic policy of collective security must be based primarily on the union of the three great powers to guarantee peace and liberty, the halls of the congress roared with cheers.

This congress of Communists will live for many years in the memory of the French working class.

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CHINESE WAR DIARY

By M. MOSKVIN and V. PETRENKO

THE rain was falling in a fine autumn drizzle as we rode out on to the Kunming Highroad. Our Chevrolet moved along at the rate of twenty-five to thirty miles an hour. About two hours later we began to overtake pedestrians. Judging by the badges they wore they were Chinese soldiers. They were a sorry sight. Gaunt, worn out, barefooted or in straw sandals, they barely dragged their feet along. They wore shorts and khaki tunics. In addition to a rifle and bullet pouch, each carried a knapsack on his back and had a rolled blanket strapped across his shoulder. Later we met stretcher-bearers carrying wounded soldiers. Evidently we had reached the tail end of a large military unit.

Our car was held up for several minutes near a group of soldiers who were resting. In conversation we learned that they belonged to a Chinese army that was marching into the province of Hunan. Thousands of coolies constituted the baggage train. They carried everything from baskets containing staff papers to kitchen cauldrons and boxes of ammunition. Riding down the column we counted no more than twenty motor trucks and three passenger cars, six pieces of artillery of different calibres, and several mortars. As regards technical equipment, the Chinese army has nothing to boast about.

The soldiers were of the most diverse ages. We met eighteen-year-old lads and fifty-year-old veterans. Some of them were so exhausted that they could barely keep on their feet. We saw men lying by the roadside obviously incapable of going on further. The junior and medium rank officers did not appear to be in much better shape. They all marched along in silence, with downcast eyes, bent by the burden of life on the march. This was a real front-line army, the like of which may be met with on any sector of any war area in China.

Not all Chinese troops are like this, however. The Republic possesses armies that are far better constituted, armed and equipped; but these are in the rear. Take, for example, the army of Hu Tsunan, which we saw in Sian. It consists of several units constituted entirely of physically fit young men, who are well clothed and equipped with modern types of weapons. These soldiers are fed much better than the men in the armies at the front. The same can be said of the troops quartered in the province of Szechwan, and of the units directly under the command of the Army Committee. These troops have not set eyes on the enemy almost throughout the entire period of the war. Their function is to "guard the tranquillity" of the rear, to blockade the Special Border Region, i.e., to carry out "special tasks" as the Chinese leaders call it.

WE ARRIVED in Kunming late at night. In the morning we went to look round the town. In the streets, in the shops and in offices we saw plenty of young, sturdy, well-fed men, and we could not help recalling the exhausted soldiers we had seen the day before. We saw the same picture in other towns besides Kunming. Hundreds of salesmen were in the shops, bored to death because they had nothing to do. And how many shops there were! It was often difficult to tell who were the buyers and who the sellers. On visiting government offices we met an enormous number of men of military age. If the staffs of these offices were reduced by only twenty or thirty percent, and if those released were called up for the army, scores of divisions could be formed.

Why were they not in the army?

We were told that it was all the fault of the law. The law, it appears, prohibits the conscription not only of persons employed in government offices, but also of those employed in private commercial offices and banks. To evade military service it is not even necessary to be employed in any of these offices; all one needs is an exemption paper. To put it more plainly, as an official in Chengtu explained to us, only those go into the army who have no money and cannot buy themselves off. The question as to who is to go into the army and who is to be exempted is decided by the recruiting officer and the *paodzya* (foreman). If a conscript, or his kinsman pays a definite price in money or in kind, he is allowed to remain at home. If he has not the wherewithal to pay, he is called up, irrespective of whether he is sick, has physical defects, is too old or too young.

Often, in the streets, or on the highroad, one meets a column of ragged and unwashed men, tied together by the wrist. You ask in astonishment: who are they? and you are told: conscripts. It appears that conscripts are rounded up, tied by the wrist in groups of three or four and sent to the mustering and training centers under convoy.

The conscripts undergo a period of three or four months' training, after which they are sent off on foot in the same manner, but in larger contingents, to replenish the units at the front.

Every modern army is a complete organism and has a uniform system of recruitment and administration. In China, however, it is different.

The armed forces of the country are not unified to this day. Very often one meets with large units which are counted in the strength of the Chinese army, but actually are troops belonging to individual Chinese generals, or provincial governors. For example, the troops at the personal disposal of Lung Yun, the governor of Hunan, number together with garrison units, as many as 200,000 men. Ma, the Mohammedan general, has a force of 150,000 men under his command. General Yen Hsi-shan, the commander of the Second Military Area, behaves as if he were the ruler of an independent state.

During the heavy fighting that took place in the province of Honan, a situation arose in which the troops of General Chang Ching-wang were being bled white. One would have thought that General Yen Hsi-shan, seeing the straits the neighboring army was in, would have commenced operations against the Japanese. He not only failed to do that, however, but even refused to carry out the order from General Headquarters to assign several units to participate in this operation.

"What are Yen Hsi-shan's troops employed for?" we asked a Chinese whom we met in Loyang.

"For the maintenance of order in the rear," answered our acquaintance significantly. "General Yen Hsi-shan is afraid that fighting the Japanese would weaken his troops, and once his troops were weakened his strength and influence would wane. Without troops one cannot acquire money, and without money and troops one cannot exercise power."

"Recall the fate of General Chang

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Hsueh-liang," added our acquaintance. "On being deprived of his troops he was not only deprived of power, but, as is well known, he was flung into prison, where he remains to this day."

THE rice fields stretched far into the hills. Hundreds of soldiers were employed here, zealously weeding the young, green rice shoots. We thought that the soldiers were helping the peasants. We entered into conversation with a captain who was supervising the work and he explained to us that the soldiers were working in fields that belonged to a big landowner.

"Our general," he said, "sends soldiers when off duty to work in the fields. In this way he ensures food supplies for his units and also supplements the pay of his commanders."

As this conversation took place in the front-line zone we asked the captain:

"Can a fighting unit at the front be withdrawn and sent on field work?"

"All is quiet at the front," answered the captain. "Besides, it is a common practice."

"What makes it necessary?"

"Our low pay. A soldier receives only two bowls of rice a day. An officer of medium rank receives from 800 to 2,000 Chinese dollars per month, but with this he is able to buy only ten packets of cigarettes. Prices have soared tremendously. The officer has a family, for whom he must provide. Consequently, we are obliged to find some sort of employment, or engage in various commercial undertakings. Sometimes a group of officers club together, open a shop and share the profits."

Several soldiers passed us carrying a dead body wrapped in a piece of matting. The officer told us that the soldier had died and was being taken to be buried.

"Why was he not put into a coffin in the regular way?" we asked.

"A coffin costs a lot of money," came the answer. "Only twenty dollars are allowed for each dead man. Matting costs from three to five dollars. The commander therefore saves money."

We learned afterwards that the difference between the price of a coffin and that of a piece of matting is pocketed by the officer.

"Conditions in the Chinese army are so hard for officers," the captain complained to us, "that we have to resort to all sorts of devices to get a living. Unlike the higher officers, those of medium rank are unable to engage in big commercial operations."

Our acquaintance described to us the conditions in General Tang En-po's army. The men and officers of this army were converted into workers and coolies for factories that belonged to different generals. Tang En-po himself owned two factories, the raw material for which the soldiers brought from Japanese-occupied territory. Other generals followed his example.

When the Japanese commenced their offensive in Honan the generals hastened to save their property. The men of their divisions were transformed into coolies and carried away on their backs the factory equipment, goods, raw materials and the personal property of the generals. The columns of coolies stretched for scores of kilometers along the road to the rear. The rest of the soldiers, left without commanders, scattered, denuding the front.

This conversation helped us to understand why the Chinese forces have suffered defeat, and why many Chinese generals are opposed to the unification of the armed forces of the Republic.

IN THE town of X we applied to the mayor for permission to visit one of the local army hospitals.

The scene that met our eyes was very depressing. Sick and wounded soldiers were lying on the floor; their bedding consisted of straw, and they were covered with their own army blankets. The stench was frightful. Evidently the wounded had not had their wounds dressed for several days and their bandages were indescribably filthy.

We talked with the surgeon. He shrugged his shoulders helplessly and opened a small cupboard containing a dozen or so bottles and a small quantity of bandages.

"This is all I have," he said. "Our hospital is off the main road, and transport difficulties prevent us from receiving what we need. Moreover, there is an extreme shortage of medical supplies and of bandages in the country. At the front the situation is even worse."

Travelling through the province of Szechwan we stopped, one hot summer day, at a steel plant situated a hundred kilometers from the temporary capital. We wanted to go over the plant, but we learned to our disappointment that it had recently been shut down. The owner of the plant, who came out to meet us, invited us to his house. During the conversation at the sumptuous dinner he treated us to, we spoke quite frankly. We expressed surprise that his plant should have stopped work at a time like this. There was a war on, we said, the army needed iron and steel, and, after all, there were not so many steel mills in China.

"The only reason I closed the plant," answered the owner with a sigh, "is that nobody bought anything from me. My equipment is not bad; I have enough raw materials, but I ran the plant at a loss. The authorities are not interested in the goods we produce; they find it more profitable to receive steel from the Americans under the lend-lease law than to support home industry."

We learned that during the four summer months no less than seventy plants of a similar type had closed down. At the present time only plants which belong to the government or to big corporations whose shareholders occupy posts in the administration are working.

FOREIGN and particularly American newspapers are writing a great deal about the situation in China; but much is written without any special desire to delve down to the roots of things. To know what is really going on in the country one must peer into all the crevices of its life, examine the causes which retard the country's progress and the people's struggle for national liberation. It is sufficient to visit Chinese units at the front to realize why the Chinese troops are suffering defeat at the hands of the Japanese.

Against this gloomy background, however, a number of bright features may be seen. At the front we saw Chinese soldiers who in the overwhelming majority of cases fought staunchly for their country and died in the effort to check the Japanese offensive. We saw Chinese peasants toiling on their land from early morning till late at night, uncomplainingly bearing all the burdens of wartime. We met intellectuals whose hearts were torn by the distress of their country and people. The progressive sections of the Chinese people are calling upon the government and the leadership of the Kuomintang to put a stop to internecine warfare and to curb the reactionaries. The desire of Chinese progressives for national unity, for the democratization of the state, for the revival of political liberty and the development of culture meets with an ever growing response among the broad masses of the Chinese people.

From "The War and the Working Class," issue Number 5 (1945).

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CULTURE AND THE PAYCHECK

By SAMUEL SILLEN

MANY of us hopefully anticipated that this war would refute the ancient saying that "When the cannons roar, the Muses are silent." We had what appeared to be good reasons for confidence that the arts, far from suffering a setback, would actually flourish and expand their influence in the course of the anti-fascist war. For the creative artist, as we argued, would now be imbued with a deep sense of purpose and a feeling of community with wide masses of men. The artist in America would at last be liberated by the knowledge that he was needed and wanted by a nation that would provide an integrated place for him in the total war effort.

Has this hope been fulfilled, or were we walking the pavements of the sky?

Clearly, we have made enormous advances if we use World War I as our standard of comparison. In the field of arts and letters, as in every other area of American life, the difference between the imperialist war of 1914-18 and the anti-fascist war today has been sharply registered. And the Muses have not, in fact, been silenced.

It is possible to cite gains on a number of levels. One may point to a novel like John Hersey's *A Bell for Adano*, which despite many weaknesses reflects a genuine democratic sensibility. One may note the radio plays of Norman Corwin as a positive war phenomenon, or the Margaret Webster production of *Othello* with Paul Robeson, which broke all Shakespearean records in the midst of war, or a dozen-odd Hollywood films that, with all their limitations, attempted to register with some honesty the fact of war. The level of war reporting—where the best writing of the past few years was concentrated—has been generally high.

Any sober estimate will deny the cynical judgment that the war has all but drowned out the arts; and I for one do not wish to give comfort to that view. But the notion that the war has generated anything like a condition of health in American cultural life is equally fantastic, and, at this moment, more dangerous. For such baseless optimism leads to complacent illusions that will make progress in the arts all the more difficult in the postwar.

The fact is that the question of quality in the arts cannot be separated from the economic problems of artists. And economically the arts are in a condition of crisis. This crisis was not created by the war; if it were, we could look forward to its ready solution with the end of the war. The matter is more serious. The crisis of American cultural life is chronic. For a whole generation now, we have been witnessing an ever-widening disparity between the cultural needs of the American community and the artistic power to produce, on the one hand, and the available channels of expression, on the other. That is, American economy is finding less and less place, proportionately, for more and more people who seek to make their social contribution as musicians, actors, writers, artists and so on.

To a certain extent, the war has hidden this crisis, which showed itself nakedly in the depression days that produced the Federal Arts Projects. For instance, the American theater—Broadway, at least—has taken on the appearance of a war-boom industry. But the hectic tubercular flush should not be confused with vitality; during the past "boom" season about 1,800 actors worked, less than a quarter of the 9,000 available professional performers. Despite the siphoning off of many artists to the armed services, the unemployment problem, as I shall show later, is tremendous.

The crisis of the arts is reflected not only in the negligible number of distinguished individual contributions, but, more seriously, in the increasingly restricted opportunities for the "rank and file" creators who form the necessary subsoil for the outstanding talents. For we are not living in a semi-feudal era of individual patronage. In a modern capitalist economy artistic production is necessarily social, in the sense that the artists are grouped around a market, usually a mass medium like the films, radio, million-circulation magazines. And an artistic career is possible only on the basis of a livelihood, that is to say, a market for one's artistic commodities.

When I speak of a chronic crisis, I do not mean that the "consumers' demand" has been shrinking. Actually, there is no theoretical ceiling to this demand, as there would be for food, for example; beauty has no "surfeit." What I do mean is that the commercial market as it exists today stands like a wall (though with crevices, of course) between the people's need for music or drama, let us say, and the artists' desire to satisfy this need. From the box-office point of view "overproduction" is chronic. Where the socialist economy of the Soviet Union makes impossible the "excess" production of art, our capitalist economy increasingly tends to expand the pool of "commercially useless" or unemployed artists.

WHAT this means concretely I learned from a number of speakers, especially the trade union speakers, at the recent Conference of the Arts, Sciences, and Professions in the Postwar. The primary purpose of this conference, sponsored by the Independent Citizens Committee of the Arts, Sciences and Professions, was to discuss ways and means of combatting unemployment through a program of expansion in the various arts.

Here, briefly, are some of the facts in a few of the arts:

Theater. Walter Greaza, assistant executive secretary of Actors Equity (the actors' trade union), pointed out that of a total of about 11,650 people whose talent and training fit them for professional work in the theater, discounting 1,500 who have gone into service, only about 3,600 have been employed "after a fashion gainfully." This is thirty-five percent of the available manpower.

To understand the chronic character of this situation, note the following Equity membership figures. In 1921 the membership reached 13,509; today it is 4,796, of which 820 are in the armed forces. Mr. Greaza added: "A careful examination of the rolls in Equity over a long period shows that the really serious and steady decline in our membership began in 1930, when we started downward very rapidly from

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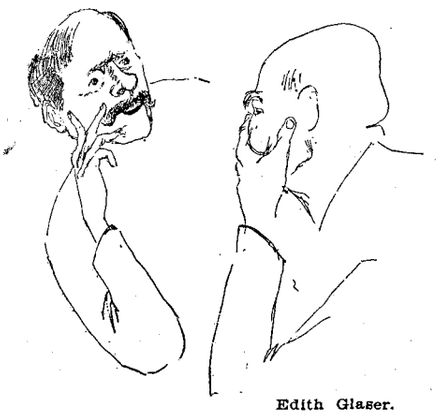
almost 10,000 members to the present active membership of 3,976. That downhill run, coming right on the heels of the crash in '29, can have only one interpretation. Obviously, the theater reacts to the general economic picture in the country."

The problem is even more serious than Mr. Greaza indicates. For not only does the theater react to the "general economic picture"; it reflects a period of general economic decline with special sharpness, and it fails to recover its losses in the periods of temporary upturn, such as the present war boom.

Music. The pattern in music is the same, though the crisis here is perhaps even more acute. Of 22,000 members of New York's Local 802, American Federation of Musicians, 13,000—more than half—were unemployed just before Pearl Harbor. The picture outside New York is equally bad, or worse. The war has improved the picture, but the basic difficulty is as far as ever from a solution. One sign of the times was the recent announcement of the collapse of the Oklahoma State Symphony, which could not raise $25,000 to carry on.

William Feinberg, Secretary of Local 802, informed the conference that mechanization of music (recordings, juke-boxes, electrical transcriptions, wired music, etc.), has deprived the live musician of a livelihood. He said: "Mechanization of music means that some of our members are called upon to create the instruments for the destruction of their and their fellow musicians' employment opportunities—and this threat remains despite the fact that recordings have brought in their wake a much wider listening audience and that some comparatively few musicians are afforded an opportunity for employment in the making of records." Mr. Feinberg does not oppose mechanization as such, but he warns that the live musician, under the present anarchic circumstances, is being destroyed.

Radio. The radio panel of the conference heard an extremely interesting paper prepared jointly by Peter Lyon, president of the Radio Writers Guild; George Heller, executive secretary of AFRA (American Federation of Radio Artists); and Anton M. Leader, vice-president, Radio Directors Guild. A detailed statistical breakdown reveals that in the highly profitable radio industry, most writers, actors, directors and other employes are either very poorly paid, partially employed or entirely unemployed. Thus, there is a "a staggering discrepancy between the actual number of people employed . . . and the known total membership of the trade union organizations covering those categories." Moreover, "the ratio of unemployment, or certainly of partial employment, in these fields is extremely high in a period of acute manpower shortage, when approximately one out



Edith Glaser.

of every ten workers in this field is in the armed services."

Art. The shocking state of the fine arts with respect to employment and wage levels was described by Elizabeth McCausland, whose paper was reprinted in NEW MASSES last week. The malady here must certainly be described as chronic.

THUS, in a diversity of cultural fields—one may add others, like the dance, sculpture, architecture, or even the apparently profit-swollen film industry—we confront both exploitation and a widening reservoir of unused talent, not to mention the frivolous use of talent that is employed. To be sure, individual artists and many "cultural entrepreneurs" are to be found in the higher income brackets; but the public has foolishly identified their affluence with the craft as a whole. One Bing Crosby does not make up for the many thousands of unemployed first-rate musicians in New York.

One answer—it is only one—why the arts have not taken on new life in the war is therefore to be found in the economic crisis from which the arts have simply not emerged, war boom or no war boom. If one-fourth of the available steel workers had been used; one-third of the available miners; one-fifth of the available tool and dye workers, the war production picture would look very sad indeed. Yet the arts have been trying to pull their weight in exactly that way, with a fraction of one lung.

And now, with inevitable postwar dislocations, the threat of a downward economic spiral, and the return of thousands of GI's who will of right be seeking reemployment in these fields or fresh entrance into them, the crisis will obviously become all the more acute. And this situation, let us carefully remember, is not one that concerns only the active practitioners in the field. The cultural vitality and progress of the whole people is at stake. This is a matter of direct public concern.

To approach the problem, the Conference of the Arts, Sciences and Professions properly addressed itself, in the first instance, to economic problems. Without going into detail, I want here to summarize several of the main lines of thought reflected at the various panels.

The central thesis, repeated by most speakers, was stated by Senator James E. Murray, author of the Full Employment Bill. Addressing a plenary session, the Montana Senator said: "The arts, sciences and professions thrive in an atmosphere of economic prosperity and well-being. As individuals you in this audience are affected by the faulty functioning of our economy and by unemployment and depressions like all other groups in American life. As citizens, you have a special responsibility to apply your knowledge and skills to the building of a democratic and secure society."

Clearly, without a full job program, the arts will be even worse off than they are today. But even this is not enough, for the war has shown that a temporary full job economy will not automatically include theater workers, musicians, dancers, etc. I believe it is an illusion to suppose that even 60,000,000 jobs will cure the deep-seated problem, though it is the necessary base for any large-scale remedial action.

One recurrent theme of the conference was the need for decentralization. The theater must find its way from Broadway to Main Street. Radio programming must not be the monopoly of a few key stations, but should more and more be the function of local stations. In the book field, emphasis was placed on the need for mass distribution media.

Another important theme was the development of the City Center idea, whereby each city would be urged to build an auditorium, or utilize an existing auditorium, for low priced city-sponsored concerts, plays, dance recitals, art shows, and so on.

A third theme—raised more frequently from the floor than from the speaker's platform—was the special

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problem of the Negro artist, whose opportunities for apprenticeship and expression are disgracefully limited, virtually non-existent in most areas, including, for example, the publishing field in New York.

Various projects for Federal arts subsidies and sponsorship were discussed in the panels. No open sesames were proposed, because there are no open sesames. But I feel that the most fruitful line of thought was that which stressed the idea that the arts represent a vital public interest in the same way that the educational system does. Mr. Feinberg has a very important idea when he says: "The public has long since accepted the propriety of government funds for colleges, universities, libraries, and museums; so too must it be generally recognized that symphony and opera, which are the higher forms of musical presentation, should be supported by public funds." He added: "In this direction I propose the establishment of art centers in every large city in the country where, as a public service, music and the allied arts may be regularly presented for the entertainment and education of the public." Margaret Webster emphasized the identical idea for the theater.

Actually, the experience of the New York City Center of Music and Drama has shown that such projects can be undertaken with possible margins of profit. But even if a certain loss must be faced, the public has to make up its mind whether it wants to lead a culturally impoverished life or whether it wants its city, state or federal government to make possible, through some initiative and planning, the organization of cultural activities beyond the school system.

In this respect the labor movement must play a far more active role than in the past, for it is the masses of the people, as opposed to those who can travel and buy high-priced tickets, who are being denied today. I think it was a regrettable limitation of the conference that so few representatives of the basic sections of labor were actively involved.

For there is a profound community of interest between the creators and their potential mass audiences. And the main hope for a thriving postwar culture unquestionably lies in the *mutual* recognition of this interest and the setting up of a concrete program to make it come alive. That is what has been missing in the war. That is what we must earnestly set out to achieve in the postwar.

READERS' FORUM

Marxist Problems Today

TO NEW MASSES: I am most glad that the Communists are reappraising their position, for it gives me now the opportunity to help hew a new party line. In the past period I have been opposed to the exaggerated "united frontism" as I called it. Although I subscribed to NM for the past five years, nevertheless I participated with a sort of unenthusiastic vigor in the Communist movement since I felt that all the Marxism I learned was sort of slipping from the Communists. Yet they were the best movement in the anti-fascist struggle, and so I stuck waiting for a more favorable Marxist program.

The struggle for socialism, for me, has never abated—at least not the education of the masses for it. Furthermore, the struggle for a true proletarian party of Marxism has never stopped. However, there is one point which I wish to point out, if I may. The United or Democratic Front is a dual tactic, and it seems to me that the greatest deviation occurred when for the sake of anti-fascist unity we neglected at the same time to build a strong Communist Party, independent and grounded in Marxism. Thus for the sake of unity we merged in a united front so successfully that we lost sight of our most important task: the building of a revolutionary party with a Marxist theory. Therefore our chief error began in the thirties and culminated in Browder's complete revisionism.

We lost greatly due to this position, for I think that we could have doubled the party membership in the war period. However, I believe we shall emerge strengthened out of this reexamination, and virtually leap forward. All I know is that you cannot make Communists by following such an innocuous policy as has been heretofore practiced. NM will certainly have a great role in the coming period in the education of the masses for socialism.

ROBERT STEVENS.

Los Angeles, Calif.

TO NEW MASSES: Regarding the Duclos article and the repercussions from it, Wm. Z. Foster has so ably and astutely summarized the situation that further comment would be supererogatory. A policy of appeasement to capitalist thought and ideology should never have been countenanced in the first place. Those of us old enough to remember the disgraceful policies of the Social Democrats as far back as World War I should not have fallen into the same attitudes.

All people of good will should welcome whatever crumbs of "prosperity" the postwar plutocrats and trusts deign to bestow upon the working class. But if this rabbit can be pulled out of the hat, it will in any case not be attributable to Leftist appeasement and collaboration. Until this miracle of transformation materializes labor will continue as before to gain only as much as they have power to demand.

The policy of the State Department from the end of World War I to the present has been indefensible from the standpoint of democracy and the rights of common people. Nor does the recrudescence of the Dies Committee and the manifold evidences of native fascism point to a more liberal policy at home.

V. G. B.

Superior, Wis.

TO NEW MASSES: Congratulations on the evaluation of your course in the June 26 issue! You were not alone in your mistakes; you were, I believe, alone in the quality of your writers, who did much valuable work during that period. I never thought of dropping my sub; there was nothing better.

What was partly forgotten was that to have faith in another class is to lose faith in our own. Bernstein made that mistake in Germany, and the most powerful labor organizations outside of the USSR succumbed to the class interests of the bourgeoisie as a result—and those interests were not the same as national interests, were not far-sighted! We are too close to disaster in the US today not to be acutely vigilant.

Let's close our ranks and move ahead!

Yours for a better world,

A VETERAN.

Camp Gordon, Ga.

A Communist in the Army

TO NEW MASSES: In view of the House Military Affairs Committee's recent outburst at the Army's policy of nondiscrimination against Communists, the following excerpts of a letter sent to me by the Commanding Officer of my combat infantry unit are of interest.

"I'm really sorry you did not return to

(*Continued on page* 22)

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THE C.P.A. STRENGTHENS ITS POLICY

By THE EDITORS

ONE of the surest tests of a political party, Lenin once said, is the attitude it adopts towards its own mistakes. The American Communists are now undergoing this kind of a test. The self-critical examination of the serious errors made by the Communist Political Association, particularly in the past year and a half, is now in full swing and will continue until the national convention of the CPA in New York July 26, 27 and 28. The discussion, which is proceeding in CPA clubs throughout the country and in the pages of the *Daily Worker*, has already indicated overwhelming sentiment in favor of rejecting as a basic revision of Marxism the course originally projected and still defended by Earl Browder which envisaged harmonious postwar cooperation between monopoly capital and labor into the indefinite future.

The CPA National Board initiated the discussion with a draft resolution, the highlights of which were presented in the June 19 NEW MASSES. As a result of suggestions by the membership and by the recent meeting of the organization's National Committee, the resolution has now been amended. It will be put into final form by the national convention.

NEW MASSES regards the amended draft resolution, published in the *Daily Worker* of July 2, as a substantial improvement over the original version. Some of the principal changes concern the characterization of American monopoly capital. The first version declared that "with the ending of the war against Nazi Germany, important groupings of American capital, which were opposed to German imperialist world domination, are joining hands with the most reactionary and pro-fascist circles of monopoly capital. . . ." It also spoke of these capitalist groupings as being "today frightened by the democratic consequences of that victory" [over Germany]. It was pointed out by a number of Communists that this formulation continues to foster the illusion that monopoly capital was formerly progressive and only now is turning toward reaction.

The amended resolution discards this idea. It points out that American monopoly capital, in supporting the war against Germany, was actuated solely by the desire to eliminate a dangerous imperialist rival, and that "from the very inception of the struggle against fascism, American finance capital feared the democratic consequences of defeating Hitler Germany." This explains, the resolution states, why the monopolists fought against collective security in the pre-war days, and why even after the creation of the anti-Hitler coalition, big business continued to dilute its support of the war with all kinds of hesitations and "concessions to the worst enemies of American and world democracy." The resolution cites the policy toward Franco Spain, toward Petain and Darlan, and the anti-Soviet motivation behind the delay in opening the Second Front. The present behavior of the economic royalists, like that of their British counterparts, reveals their alarm "at the strengthened position of world labor, at the democratic advances in Europe and at the upsurge of the national liberation movements in the colonial and dependent countries." Hence, the monopolists are trying "to save the remnants of fascism in Germany and the rest of Europe" and "to organize a new *cordon sanitaire* against the Soviet Union. . . ." The resolution cites various political evidences of this trend. It also sharpens the analysis of the role of the trusts and monopolies on the home front.

ANOTHER change in the resolution is a more explicit recognition of the fact that while the basic character of monopoly capital is reactionary, cleavages exist among the capitalists that make possible cooperation with some of them. The resolution points out that "while forging the progressive unity of the nation, labor should cooperate with those capitalist groupings and elements who, for one or another reason, desire or endeavor to promote democratic objectives. But in so doing, labor must depend first of all on its own strength and unity, and on its alliance with the true democratic and anti-fascist forces of the nation."

Still another change is a more precise delineation of the approach to the war against Japan. While calling for collaboration with "all democratic forces who favor and support victory over Japanese imperialism," the resolution declares that "labor and the other anti-fascists must take cognizance of the fact that amongst those big business circles who desire military victory over Japan there are influential forces, including some in the State Department, who are seeking a compromise peace which will preserve the power of the Mikado after the war, at the expense of China and the other Far Eastern peoples, and directed against the Soviet Union." The resolution also warns against those "who plan to use the coming defeat of Japan for imperialist aims, for maintaining a reactionary puppet Kuomintang regime in China, for obtaining American imperialist domination in the Far East."

Most of the immediate program of action in the original resolution is retained without change. In regard to Bretton Woods a clearer formulation is substituted which begins: "Use the Bretton Woods agreement in the interests of the United Nations. . . ." On the granting of long-term loans and credits at low interest rates the stipulation is made that this be "without reactionary interference in the internal affairs of the nations." In that part of the program of action dealing with the servicemen two additional proposals are introduced: substantial increases in the dependency allotments to the families of men in the armed forces, and extension and improvement "of democratic orientation and discussion in the armed forces," with the elimination of all anti-labor and anti-democratic material.

An important change is made on the question of socialism. Instead of a passing reference in a single sentence in the original version, the resolution now contains the statement:

"As class-conscious American workers, as Marxists, we Communists support this program. However, we believe that socialism alone can finally abolish the social evils of capitalist society, including economic insecurity and the danger of fascism and war. But we Communists realize that the majority of the American people do not yet understand that the eventual establishment of socialism in the USA will usher in a new and higher form of democracy and social progress."

In the concluding section, dealing with the CPA's errors, the only significant change is the addition of the following: "In ascertaining the grave responsibility for the opportunist errors and mistakes committed in the recent period,

(*Continued on page 22*)

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MR. BYRNES HAS A LOT TO LEARN

By JOHN STUART

THERE is a glitter and an aura about the Secretaryship of State that has always made it the most attractive federal office short of the presidency itself. James F. Byrnes holds it now and he holds it within a context of circumstances which heap on him enormous power, both potential and real. Under our current system of presidential succession he is the heir apparent. And with Mr. Truman's experience in foreign affairs decidedly limited, he will perforce depend on his secretary's judgment in a manner entirely out of keeping with Mr. Byrnes' knowledge of the swiftly moving political streams that wash the globe. If anything, Mr. Byrnes faces a curriculum of education in which he must unlearn with the same speed that he learns. While he is not one of the gilded Brahmins that infest the State Department, neither is he without an array of prejudices peculiar to the backward Southern Democrat.

The new secretary has a strong anti-Negro bias, matched on many occasions by his bias against labor. He comes from a poll-tax state with its poll-tax politics and the record does not reveal that he has once rebelled against an electoral machine that denies the Negro his most elementary civil rights. There is nothing principled about stepping on the neck of your fellow man even if in words you show him a charitable indulgence. And it will not be strange if the secretary's prejudices become known, if they are not already, to the colonial world, most of whose inhabitants are dark-skinned. What Mr. Byrnes has done or not done on the Negro issue in South Carolina and in Congress will hamper him in dealing with Africans and Chinese and Indians, and not even his adroitness in negotiation can be used to obscure this basic weakness.

WITH labor Mr. Byrnes has been decidedly maladroit. Labor was hostile to him at the last Democratic convention when he was proposed for the vice-presidential candidacy. Yet it is labor with which Mr. Byrnes will have to deal on a world scale. In most of Europe it is the labor movement that is preeminent in the conduct of national life. The World Federation of Trade Unions is not something he can take exception to or disregard. Nor will the policy toward labor which he followed as head of the Office of War Mobilization win anything but continued hostility if he pursues it further.

Mr. Byrnes, then, is at the moment a man of limited social perspectives, yet there is nothing to keep him from climbing above his prejudices and rising in stature. For one he will have to abandon improvising policies that do not last beyond a weekend. And he will have to influence the White House to do the same—or perhaps it's the other way around. If he is a shrewd man he will use his shrewdness in renewing the Roosevelt fundamentals in dealing with our friends abroad. If he will pursue those fundamentals and not confuse the technique of running his department efficiently with the belief that that is foreign policy then he will have achieved something of importance.

Mr. Byrnes is reported to be an excellent administrator. Well and good. But the evil that falls on men who pride themselves on their singular administrative talents is that they keep the motor running on all pistons but seem to forget where it is to take them and how. Mr. Byrnes, for example, hardly needs an investigation by the Budget Director to determine who is to be cleansed from the State Department. The test is not solely one of administrative efficiency; it is primarily whether that efficiency or lack of it hurts our relations abroad and implements an attitude that dams up the democratic currents of Europe, lends aid and comfort to Franco, adds coal to anti-Soviet fires, and impedes the unfolding of a policy towards Germany that would completely de-Nazify her.

Is it necessary for the Budget Director to tell Mr. Byrnes that Undersecretary Grew is inefficient before he retires him to his private club where he may worship the Emperor of Japan according to his own conscience? For all I know Mr. Grew may be a genius at making the wheels revolve in Washington but in the Far East he has clogged them with the sands of his prejudices and created a breakdown that only the engineering of farsighted and progressive policy can undo. For all I know, youthful Nelson Rockefeller may accomplish in twenty-four hours what takes others forty-eight. He may be an inexhaustible dynamo of energy and all the paper clips and pencils in his office may be in their proper grooves. But Rockefeller's efficiency applied to disastrous policies merely hastens disaster and creates such fiascos as Argentina's admission to the San Francisco Conference. The Budget Director may also find that there are men in the State Department whose efficiency does not satisfy all the time-clock experts; yet it may be these very men who have bucked the cookie-pushers and fought for a policy that would not make us the pariah of the earth. What will Mr. Byrnes do with them?

The shining-gadget psychology or the idolization of efficiency can hardly serve as the brush with which to scrub the State Department. Nor can little tricks and schemes such as creating a permanent Undersecretary of State be fruitful. Nor can the test be solely one of age. Nor is the answer to be found in a mere modernization of the foreign service training program. All administrative devices without doubt require constant overhauling. These reforms, however, are only of value if accomplished first is the task of refreshing the Roosevelt foreign policy and protecting it from the winds of chance.

MR. BYRNES' first great opportunity for unlearning and learning will come with his attendance this month at the Big Three meeting in Germany. It would seem that his first experience at Yalta returned him with the impression that the way to get along with the Russians was not to get along with them at all. He misunderstood Mr. Roosevelt's method of negotiation. He thought FDR too soft and too generous and he advised Mr. Truman to pound the table whenever there was a Russian on the other side of it. The aftermath only brought another state of tension with its objective origins among American imperialists suddenly dizzy with the success of their wartime prowess, with the power of the American Army and Navy, and hunting a way to run the world by a show of brawn. Mr. Byrnes will, therefore, bear the closest scrutiny just as Mr. Truman will have to take responsibility in the end for whatever adventures his secretary may embark upon. But here again, as with the growth of our foreign policy, the guarantee that no serious mishap will take place depends on an alert labor movement that knows what it wants and how it is to be attained.

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NM SPOTLIGHT

I. G. Farben

WHAT may be an important development in American policy toward Germany is revealed in the decision of the US Army High Command to seize and operate the vast enterprises of the I. G. Farben combine. The entire German management has been ousted. US Army personnel is now in charge and will operate those plants not directly employed for war materials. The final disposition of this giant economic cornerstone of German fascism will be determined by the four-power occupation government which is to be set up in Germany by the United States, Soviet Union, Britain and France.

I. G. Farben, together with Krupp and a dozen other banking and heavy industry monopolies, formed the primary source of German fascism as well as the material war potential of the predatory Nazi army. Hitler's war for world domination was a war planned and conducted in behalf of the German monopolists. And until the last economic and social foundations of fascism are completely eradicated from the soil of Germany, the peoples of the world will not have enduring peace.

It is worth noting that all direct and indirect Nazi war enterprises were seized by the Red Army in the very first days of the occupation of their sector of Germany. We can hope that this policy will be uniformly applied in all occupied Germany when the four-power Allied government is set up in the near future. In the meantime we can welcome the US Army seizure of the plants and offices of this most sinister of all German cartels. I. G. Farben was the international symbol of the German monopolists' designs to conquer the world and enslave its people. Through its economic and financial operations German finance capital dominated the economic life of all Europe and extended its tentacles around the globe.

Neutralizing Tangiers

TANGIERS, like the Rock of Gibraltar, dominates the strategic entrance to the entire Mediterranean area and effectively controls all maritime traffic through the Mediterranean Sea, the Suez Canal, the Dardanelles and the Black Sea. Before the war Tangiers was under the joint control of British, French and Spanish governments. In 1940, after the fall of France, Hitler's junior partner, Franco, unilaterally ousted the international governing body, took over complete control and turned it into a Nazi spy and supply base. In recent weeks British, French and US representatives have been quietly planning to oust Franco and set up a new international governing body. In these discussions they evidently overlooked the fact that the Soviet Union is one of the great powers that defeated Hitler and is now deeply concerned with preserving world security, especially in such strategic danger spots as Tangiers.

Last week the Soviet Union made known its request to participate in the Tangiers conference and created a bit of consternation in some London circles. It now appears that the Soviet Union will be invited to participate. The US government has already stated officially that it would not object to Soviet participation and the French should have every reason to welcome it. At the bottom of the Tangiers problem lies the rivalry of Anglo-French interests, a rivalry that can be measurably mitigated by the presence of the Soviet Union. There is also the important problem of ousting Franco from Tangiers as a matter of punitive justice for his aggression of 1940 as well as for his consistent support of the Nazi war. The chief contribution the US government can make at the Tangiers conference is to develop a consistent policy against Franco whereby his ousting from Tangiers will be a preliminary step to the breaking of diplomatic relations with his pro-Nazi government and thus encourage the Spanish people to liberate their nation from fascism. Such a policy would not only receive the full support of the Soviet, French and American people but it would also help curb the pro-Franco policy of the Churchill government.

Detroit Labor Unity

THOSE who profit from labor's division in this country will scarcely cheer at the news of the agreement reached by the CIO's United Automobile Workers and the AFL's Building Trades Department in the Detroit area. Obviously aware that their dispute which threw 50,000 into idleness did neither of them any good, they combined to set up machinery to settle jurisdictional disagreements. Disputes will be settled on a local scale whenever possible through joint union committees; if no agreement can be reached on that level, the issue goes to a national body consisting of equal representation from both unions, plus an agreed-upon individual who will act as chairman. He will be Assistant Secretary of Labor Daniel W. Tracy.

Further significance of this event is that never, since the AFL and CIO split, has such an agreement been achieved. It should augur the creation of such machinery for all unions, a development which would take the wind out of the sails of those who exploit every semblance of disunity. Messrs. Ball, Burton and Hatch will lose a propaganda point through such agreements.

An enemy to this development is William Hutcheson, czar of the carpenters, who has a decisive voice in top AFL policy council. He put the kibosh on a similar agreement reached three years ago by Philip Murray and William Green. Hutcheson's displeasure, if it is again manifested, must be ignored by the members of his organization, for too much is at stake. It is imperative that labor reach nation-wide agreements so that they can unitedly ward off the attacks on them that are in the offing.

The Nation's Pursestrings

FOR many years the names of Harry Hopkins and Henry Morgenthau were identified with the most vital aspects of Franklin Roosevelt's policies. Both men were regarded as staunch champions of international collaboration, as public figures who did not ignore the aspirations of our people and the needs of our nation. Hopkins' name was associated with the best features of the WPA days and the effort to alleviate the economic misery of our people; Morgenthau's with the soundest aspects of our tax policy. Hence the universal regret at their resignations.

Mr. Morgenthau, perhaps, of all the men associated with the forward-looking

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aspects of the Roosevelt regime, collaborated most closely with the late President. And, despite his powerful detractors (he was not only a frequent target of the nation's economic royalists but also of the most rabid fascist propagandists) he had won the confidence of democratic Americans. His record as Treasury head ranks with the best; his role in recent times indicated his staunch understanding of our country's imperatives. He saw Bretton Woods as a powerful aid to world economic collaboration and he didn't hesitate to say so, to evoke the help of the people in this regard. Our soldiers, their kin at home, warmed to his efforts to prevent the Nazi warmaking machine from rising again from the ashes; he did not belong to the ranks of those who would resurrect the power of German cartelism.

Fred M. Vinson, who will replace Morgenthau, has a big job before him, and ample precedent to discharge that job honorably. He is regarded as an exponent of Morgenthau's tax policies, and the nation will carefully scrutinize his work in the expectation that he will carry on in the spirit and approaches of his predecessor.

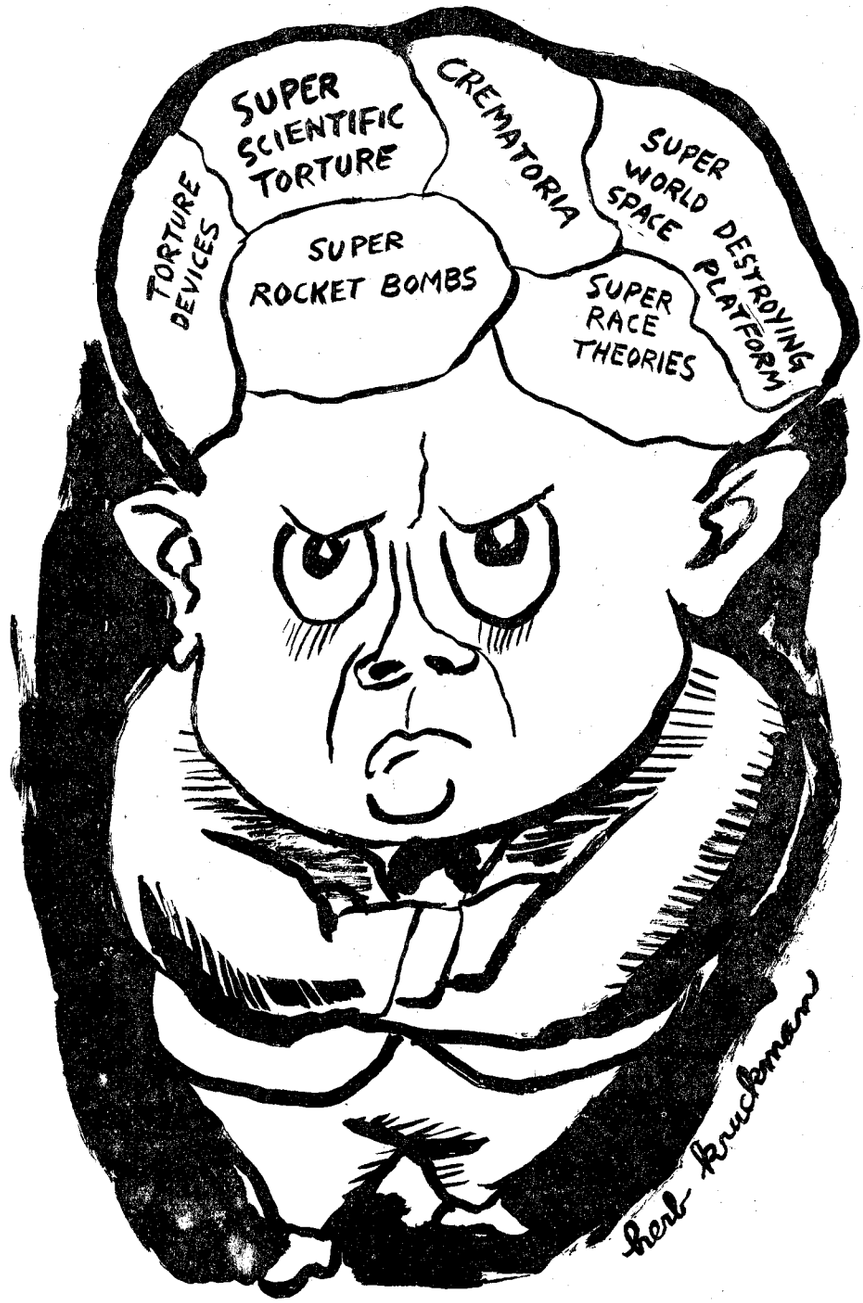
Racism and Veterans

THE American Negro soldier has played a heroic part in the defeat of European fascism and has done so under the most humiliating and insulting circumstances; he returns to this country to find the very ideology he fought to eliminate abroad. The speeches of Senators Bilbo and Eastland against the FEPC deserve Hitler's Iron Cross. These liars from the deep South apparently aspire to be classified among the war criminals. Their reviling of our Negro brothers and particularly of the Negro soldier was a performance equalled only in Hitler Germany.

These American Nazi orators are not the only humiliation the returning Negro soldier must face. The failure of the great body of decent Americans and of their government and of the War Department itself to denounce these slanderous utterances reflects an indifference which is in itself shocking. As Doxey Wilkerson has written in the *Daily Worker*, "a Senate and a War Department that can tolerate such fascist racism as that preached by Bilbo and Eastland last week, without making vigorous and overwhelming protest, could easily accommodate themselves to the ranting of an American Hitler."

The returning Negro soldier faces other critical problems which he shares with the hundreds of thousands of Negroes who have helped man the home front. Cutbacks, chaotic reconversion, the hostile attitude of many AFL unions, the crass discrimination practiced by such enterprises as the Metropolitan Life Insurance Co., place an undue share of the burden which the entire nation faces upon the Negro people. All of this is occurring in the midst of war, when the struggle against the Japanese fascists rises toward its climax. If such things can happen while the war is still on what can we expect when the discipline and restraint of war has been wholly removed?

The American people must rise in revulsion against the fascist racism in our midst. No slur upon the Negro people nor upon any other sector of American democracy can be left unanswered.



News Item: German scientists "consider their work above national limitations. Most of them are willing to carry on their experiments in Britain or America. Efforts are being made . . . to establish a center in the US where they can continue their work, not only for war use but for the peaceful use of the fruits of their calculating minds."

Gnawing at Democracy

THE editor of *Der Angriff* looking up from his spot in the blazing depths of the infernal regions must have had his pains assuaged these last weeks as he watched the goings-on in the American Congress over the Fair Employment Practices Commission. For

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the partisans of race hate were barring no holds in their effort to balk an overwhelming majority who sought to preserve the agency after its funds had been wantonly sheared out of the War Agencies Appropriation Bill in the House. Wielding every weapon in the great arsenal of parliamentary devices, they had conducted a shameful battle in which they pushed the agency to the wall against the June 30 deadline of the fiscal year. Nevertheless they have discovered that a point of order can be used for democracy as well as against it. The representatives of the American people who have fought for FEPC made clear their determination not to be thwarted by raising points of order against the rest of the bill to force a reconsideration of the whole matter. Now the poll taxers and their friends are talking "compromise": Give the FEPC half a loaf, or to be exact, a third of its normal year's funds. Starve it *a la* Buchenwald, if you can't manage to kill it outright. But such a "compromise" would actually be defeat. Starvation rations for anti-discrimination can never help us solve the problems that lie ahead. Pressure of the sort that has so far routed the bilboing crew of wreckers can still preserve this vital bastion in the fight for greater democracy in the USA. But the pressure has to be maintained, renewed and increased. The White House, Congress and the Senate must be let know that we the people want not only the temporary agency *now*, but a permanent, able and functioning FEPC as an integral part of our governmental machinery.

Here and There

CHEERS for another decisive victory! The campaign to liberate the Philippines is declared over except for mop-up operations.

• Is UNRRA reviving Hoover methods of fighting political battles with food? The British sponsored rightist government of Greece received 123,000 tons of supplies in May, while the "leftist" governments of Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Yugoslavia, with far larger populations, received 36,000, 23,000 and 16,000 tons respectively.

• The fascist "big lie" as practiced in Spain: Franco announced late in 1943 that his "Blue" legionnaires had all been withdrawn from the German armies. Evidence just turned up reveals that they were in the German lines to the very end.

Heirs to Martin Dies

(*Continued from page* 10)

him! He used to know a Communist out in South Dakota, he said. The fellow used to write to him. But then came the day when he wrote as follows: "Mundt, you are just a louse."

Mundt laughed. It is not easy to make a man like Mundt mad, or to insult him. I asked him if it occurred to him they might investigate fascists. He said, oh, yes, they were investigating them. He for one didn't believe in butting into the affairs of other countries. The Russians could have Communism, and other countries could have fascism if they wanted it, so long as they kept it in their countries. I laughed and asked him if his understanding of fascism was that it could be maintained without making war on other countries. He didn't know, he said. Did he think Argentina hadn't been linked with Germany all along?

"Well, I don't know," he said. "I don't know whether the Communists here are linked with Moscow."

"And do you believe that hoary one about Moscow gold?" I asked.

"Well, I don't know—there's evidence—"

"And it was never brought out?"

"No, it was never brought out," he said. "Of course right now," he said jovially, "it's our gold that's being poured into Moscow, in the lend-lease."

The CPA

(*Continued from page* 18)

it is necessary to state that while Comrade Browder, who was the foremost leader of the CPA, bears a proportionately greater share of the responsibility than any other individual leader or member, the entire national leadership, and in the first place the National Board, must and does assume a heavy responsibility for these errors."

These are the bare essentials of the principal changes made in the CPA draft resolution. For further insight into the issues involved we recommend William Z. Foster's article in *The Worker* of July 8 and the articles by Eugene Dennis and John Williamson in the July 1 *Worker*. We again invite our own readers to let us have their views.

Readers' Forum

(*Continued from page* 17)

us as we had plans for you with the company. . . . I'm happy to hear the War Department has changed its policies as they applied to you. I have always felt that you were one person who was really fighting for a principle and carried it through 100 percent. . . . I've often thought that you were so far ahead of the rest of us in your ideas and ideals. . . . You always have put the boys' welfare first in your work and it's the right way to be. . . ."

PFC. JOE SOKOL.

Sokol, before his enlistment in January 1942, was a Communist Party organizer among the coal miners in southeastern Ohio. He was recently awarded a Bronze Star medal for heroism during the Battle of Germany, having seen active service in France and Germany. He is now convalescing in this country from wounds incurred in Alsace, France.—Ed.

Blueberry Pie

TO NEW MASSES: Enclosed is a contribution which fails even to suggest my indebtedness to NEW MASSES. . . .

I consider it deplorable and grossly detrimental to the war-peace effort, paid for in lives lost and extended conflict, that there is such absolute lack of aggressive morale among most men in service, only because of a distortion or lack of clarification of the issues involved. Instead we find "duty-bound" want-to-get-home-to-blueberry-pie soldiers. One does not have to have witnessed it as I have to see how meager this effort is compared to what it would be if the war were known as the crusade for life that it is. The victories of our armies do not disprove this, nor can it be dismissed by sincere apologists of the servicemen who say pie involves the peaceful world all must constantly work for to insure its existence. It does—but most regard pie as pie.

Through NEW MASSES I am now able to go on with a perspective otherwise unattainable. I only regret that all others do not have this basic understanding of the world and their great part in it. It is terribly hard for the individual without it, and the world suffers from his not fully contributing.

I hope to send another donation soon.

PFC. R. T. S.

Quonset Pt., R.I.

Marx and Freud

TO NEW MASSES: Isidor Schneider's clear-cut review of Hoffman's book *Freudianism and The Literary Mind*, shows an earnest need for a truly authoritative left-wing thesis on the similarities and antagonisms between Marxism vs. Freudism. For while these two sciences are not necessarily counter to each other, an exhaustive study detailing why and where the parallelism begins and ends should certainly make an important contribution to analytical thinking.

Potential authors on this exploratory thematic subject please note!

M. DRUCKER.

Bronx, N. Y.

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SAMUEL HARPER'S RUSSIA

By ISIDOR SCHNEIDER

TELEVISION, telephones on automobile dashboards, and rocket mail deliveries across oceans are about to be added to our regular communications apparatus. The means for collecting and transmitting information are already awe-inspiring in variety and mechanical refinement. Nevertheless, the skills for using them scarcely exist and our average citizen who buys two newspapers and hears any number of news broadcasts daily, not to speak of magazines, movie newsreels, etc., ends up misinformed, or at best, bewildered.

The case is far worse with the controlling opinion makers. Their way with the complicated apparatus for gathering and using information resembles that of the Russian peasant with industrial machinery—except that the peasant finally learned how to use it. Irresponsible and hysterical enough before, they and our policy makers reached a frenzy unique in history on the emergence of the first socialist state. Surveying their reaction to that phenomenon it is hard to believe that we are dealing with minds contemporary with aviation and radio. They are minds reduced by shock to the cave-man level. All this is reflected in Professor Harper's absorbing and, despite everything, hopeful book.* For in its varied testimony is further evidence of how the obstructors of history are, in time, pushed aside.

Mr. Harper describes, for example, the investigation of "Sovietism" conducted by Senator King's committee in 1919. This was one of the first of the modern legislative witch-hunts which make the congressional history of our times such humiliating reading. Not only senatorial authority but the prestige of experts, through connivance or perversion of their testimony, was used to fasten on the people of our country slanderous and dangerous misconceptions which for many years poisoned American-Soviet relations. But today, the once strutting King committee is an ignominous footnote.

I quote from Mr. Harper's account of the committee proceedings: "When my turn came to face questioning I found myself giving not only an inadequate but sometimes even incorrect picture on a particular point for I had to answer "yes" or "no" to loosely or stupidly worded questions. . . . The testimony of one witness illustrated particularly well how investigations by such august bodies as the Senate give erroneous ideas the authoritative sanction of fact. This witness had been in a small provincial town on the Volga in those first months of the new Soviet regime and had brought out of Russia a document which he insisted proved, beyond any question, that Sovietism was based on the nationalization of women as well as on the nationalization of land and industrial enterprises. This document had been given to him by his Russian interpreter-secretary as published in a local newspaper. But the witness failed to state that the newspaper was an anarchist sheet and that the alleged decree was planted on the Bolsheviks by the anarchists in a local election campaign. Thus through the Senate committee this alleged decree on the nationalization of women was planted on the American public with lasting effect."

It is such direct evidence, drawn from the life of a man who made Russia his lifetime study with, on the whole, unfaltering scholarship, that makes this book so valuable. In it the record of American-Soviet relations becomes lifelike; the autobiography becomes almost a personification of American-Soviet relations in their simplest and most sensitive aspect.

Professor Samuel Harper was the son of the founder of the University of Chicago. The industrialist Cyrus McCormick, as ambassador to old Russia, interested a number of Midwestern manufacturers—among them the machine-builder, Charles R. Crane—in the possibilities of American-Russian trade and general relations. Crane subsidized Russian studies and persuaded young Harper, then a student, to make Russian studies his life work. This is what they literally became. It was a life work that began before 1905 and therefore took in the two Russian revolutions. Harper's own attitude is well put in his retort to some Soviet officials that since Russia was his field of study, when they appeared in it he had to study them.

BUT at first he resented their appearance as an intrusion and gave it that estimate. As an American concerned with Allied victory in the first World War he much preferred the Kerensky regime, which had committed itself to continuing the war, to the Soviet regime, which had committed itself to immediate peace. That was how he then interpreted the interests of his country, which remained for Harper the dominant concern of his life.

As he saw the situation, in the first years the Soviets were unstable, and certain to collapse at any moment. They were disturbing the world by their imbalance, and the quicker they got out of the way the better. For that reason he opposed American recognition. He even lent his authority, as a Russian expert, to the Sisson documents, now generally conceded to be forgeries, authenticating some of the papers in that collection.

These are sore points in the autobiography. Scholarly pride impels Professor Harper to defend these miscalculations and the activities based on them. Scholarly conscience, however, compels him to acknowledge that he had been wrong in his estimate of Soviet stability. By 1926 his last reservations on that point were removed. From then on, in the conviction that it was what the interests of his country called for, he put his continuing study of Russia at the service of bettering American-Soviet relations.

In the conditions under which American-Soviet relations have been and, to some extent, are still carried on, this involved no little sacrifice and hardship. It is a strange commentary on American scholarship that Professor Harper found himself, as a result of this wise and patriotic course, barred from the lecturers' lists of his own university club; and that in the difficult years of 1940-41 the ostracism of his colleagues

* THE RUSSIA I BELIEVE IN: *The Memoirs of Samuel Harper. Edited by Paul V. Harper with the assistance of Ronald Thompson. University of Chicago Press. $3.50.*

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drove him into a nervous breakdown. The New York *Times* reviewer professed to be sickened himself by convictions so strong as to lead to such consequences.

What probably sickened him, however, was Professor Harper's diagnosis of British imperialist motivations, which people of the *Times* reviewer stripe are more accustomed to seeing justified at Soviet expense. Harper's diagnosis is, again, based on sound and continuous study. British foreign policy intruded so portentously into his chosen field that, like the Soviet officials, it had to be studied. For many years he was associated with his British counterpart, Sir Bernard Pares, a scholar-advocate of good British-Soviet relations as best serving British national interests. Professor Harper spent several years teaching in England and usually made British stopovers on his way to and from the Soviet Union.

Professor Harper makes clear that the Chamberlain policy of patronage toward German aggression, with the aim of directing it against Russia, was a continuation of the Sir John Simon policy in the Far East of letting Japan have Manchuria as a *place d'armes* for anti-Soviet aggression. That tragically costly policy and its failures are not pleasing reminders to such gentlemen as the *Times'* reviewer. Moreover, the reminder places certain significances on present British policy which they do not like to see made so plain.

Professor Harper, who died a year ago, did not live to finish his modest autobiography in which there is so very little of self. It resembles somewhat, in that respect, Soviet biographical writing. His brother Paul and Mr. Ronald Thompson, who filled in the gaps between the completed parts with letters written at the time, and did other careful and sensitive editing, have given us a very absorbing book. It takes a place, at once, on the small shelf of books relating to the Soviet Union that have lasting value.

The German Problem

THE TREATMENT OF DEFEATED GERMANY, *by V. J. Jerome. New Century Publishers. 35c.*

WHAT will happen to the Germans looms up today as the central problem of the peace, and that is what gives V. J. Jerome's booklet its timeliness and importance. It is true that most of the debate over what *ought* to be done with the Germans is now slightly academic, and since Jerome's writing must have been done before V-E Day, it shares in this shortcoming. On the other hand, his argument against all the various misconceptions of the German problem is so well-reasoned, and polemically summarized that the pamphlet stands up as the best single reply to all non-Marxist conceptions of the problem. It is a quiver of sharp arrows on topical matters and a treasury of Marxist fundamentals, which offer a vast resource to the more serious student. And it is just this form—some 108 swift pages on a single subject—which American Marxist writing needs so badly.

The anchor of this booklet is its historical approach to the roots of German fascism. The basic fact of German history was the abortion of the democratic revolution—first, in 1848, by the bourgeoisie itself, and then in 1918, by the Social Democrats. Here is Jerome's starting-point, embellished by references to Marx and Engels which are invaluable, and thus distinguishing his work immediately from the attempts of Samuel Grafton, G. D. H. Cole, Louis Nizer, Dorothy Thompson and others.

His attitude toward the responsibility of the German people is a dual one, and has since been confirmed by the German Communists themselves. The entire nation is held accountable for its ugly history but, unlike Vansittart's sterile trap of attributing some innate biological streak to the Germans, Jerome holds them capable of self-redemption. And from this follows his proposals for the expiation of Germany's guilt, in which her proletariat has the major obligation and a major opportunity. The necessary territorial changes in favor of Poland, the ruthless punishment of war criminals, the use of German labor in reconstruction are discussed not in themselves but as methods of opening out the possibilities of Germany's self-redemption.

A particularly strong passage is Jerome's plea for the punishment of all war criminals. He demolishes the theories that the Nazi "heads of state" cannot be held responsible for their deeds, or that the Nazi underlings can escape their own responsibility by blaming everything on orders from their superiors. Here Jerome uses very effectively the work of the Soviet authority Prof. Alexander Trainin and the American authority, Prof. Sheldon Glueck. He adds a powerful, impassioned presentation to their unanswerable arguments.

Since the booklet was written largely before the defeat of the Third Reich, and yet will be read largely after that defeat, it inevitably suffers a defect: and that is the inadequate attention to the divergence of policy among the great powers. Jerome premises a coalition occupation of Germany, and it is true that at the Yalta conference a set of coalition principles were spelled out. But it is doubtful whether the German question can be studied today without realizing that a common behavior among the United Nations does not really exist, and will be hard to attain.

Agreed that the deindustrialization of Germany is no solution, as Jerome says; agreed also, that the German cartel structure must be smashed, while not permitting German industry to be taken over lock, stock and barrel by the big monopolies of our own country and Britain. True also, the long-range solution for Germany's war potential lies in using her economic strength to rebuild very consciously the power of the democratic neighbors, which will in the long run overcome the differential between central Europe and the rest of Europe.

Yet how shall all this be done? That is today the heart of the German problem. Though coalition principles will help, the evidence indicates that it will not be solved entirely on a coalition basis. It would therefore have been most valuable to analyze the exact currents of thought and behavior in the American, British, French and occupations—and the Soviet occupation, too. This was, of course, a most difficult task before V-E Day. The indications of Jerome's views are here, but there are not enough of them. Jerome is the man, however, to give us an epilogue to his own booklet, while we make history with the guidance and advice of what he has already done.

JOSEPH STAROBIN.

A Guerrilla on Leyte

AMERICAN GUERRILLA IN THE PHILIPPINES, *by Ira Wolfert. Simon & Schuster. $2.75.*

THERE has been a good deal of reporting about this war, some of it good, some of it not so good, most of it superficial and much of it just something put down on paper to cash in on a hot news item. But some of our reporting has been honest and creative, and *American Guerrilla* is an example of that kind.

It is the story of an American naval officer among the Philippine guerrillas on Leyte: how he lived and fought and sought after a girl when he could, how he became a guerrilla leader and how he finally got out. There have been a few stories about American guerrillas

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"Asleep," pencil sketch by Moses Soyer.

in this war; most of them have been of fliers or escaped PW's who joined up with European partisans. This is the first story of an American who lived a complete guerrilla life, from beginning to end. As such it is quite important, whatever its limitations. A basic factor in this war for national liberation has been the resistance movement. It is extremely significant that Americans, for the most part, have not had to join in resistance movements. This exclusion from, and consequent lack of understanding of, one of the fundamentals of life today will determine aspects of our behavior in the years to come.

There is one major difference, however, between Lieutenant Richardson's story and the other ones of Americans among European partisans. Richardson was with guerrillas organized and largely led by the American Army. The resistance movement on Leyte was different in many ways from the one further north on Luzon, although they fought a common enemy. The Luzon movement was remarkably like the European resistance movements: it had a high degree of political awareness, developed its own leaders from the people and fought completely alone and unaided. A common thread to most of the stories of Americans among European partisans has been the awakening of many of the Americans to political realities. This is missing from Wolfert's book, not because of an evasion by the author or a lack of potentiality in Lieutenant Richardson, but because the resistance movement he took part in was apparently lacking in this higher degree of political awareness.

That is why this book can only be considered the story of an American in a particular guerrilla movement. Its scope is limited. But within these limits, it is absorbing and important. The courage, ingenuity, sensitivity and intelligence of Lieutenant Richardson are characteristic of the greater part of the Americans fighting this war. Richardson is unusual only in the sense that he was in an unusual position, for which his background of outdoor experience prepared him well. He himself is thoroughly and typically American.

The book is written extremely well. Wolfert, when he is not trying to imitate Hemingway, is one of the most accomplished of our younger writers. Unfortunately, he succumbs too often to the Hemingway style; and in imitating style, Wolfert also takes over mannerism and a method of looking at things. The Hemingway method of looking at people and war expressed what Hemingway wanted to say, and was not separable from what he had to say. Wolfert, on the whole, should be saying new things. He has no need for another's style. When he writes like himself, he is very good. He is not afraid of words; sometimes this leads him into a kind of poetic sloppiness, but not often. He is a better man with words than Hersey or Tregaskis or Belden or most of the other writers who have been reporting the war. Sometimes he is lush and sometimes he is mannered, but he has something to say and he has told it excitingly.

JOHN HARVEY.

The Monster Is Here, Too

COMING HOME, *by Lester Cohen. Viking. $2.75.*

A LION IS IN THE STREETS, *by Adria Locke Langley. Whittlesey House. McGraw-Hill. $3.*

AS OUR soldiers begin to return from battle against foreign fascists, two novels appear to remind us that our country also has fascists, and of the conditions that breed them. In *Coming Home*, Lester Cohen portrays a medically discharged veteran who, having taken some of the lessons of this people's war to heart, meets in Pittsburgh a counterpart of the enemy he fought in Guadalcanal. And Adria Locke Langley, in *A Lion Is in the Streets*, gives a vivid reminder of Huey Long, who established a dictatorship in Louisiana that he might have spread beyond.

With a maximum of emphasis on plot and on heightened contrast, Cohen outlines the mechanism of control and

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corruption in a typical big industry and the city it dominates. The characteristic phenomena are here, from the top to the bottom rungs of the economic ladder: cartels, fraudulent war contracts, venal judges, petty tyrants in the form of ward magistrates or squires, cheated and exploited inventors and workers. Opposed to these and grosser aspects of our society as they appear in the Steel City is an average, able young veteran, Joe Drew. Joe's battle gradually, inevitably expands from an impulsive thrashing of Squire Pike, who had raped his girl, to an elaborate struggle against Osmond, the head of the vast empire in which Joe had previously lived as a more or less unconscious subject.

Mr. Cohen's material is important, but his treatment of it falls short of artistic success. Though the book is readable, the writing seems hasty and two-dimensional, and the presentation too often histrionic. The reader's credulity is taxed by frequent use of coincidence and bizarre interconnections between disparate characters. This reviewer is not impressed, for example, by the millionaire Communist daughter of Osmond, the Steel King, who helps rescue the hero from her father. And scarcely more impressive is the other main Communist supporter of Joe Drew's crusade—a worker's wife, one of many who submitted to rape by Squire Pike to save their husbands' jobs.

Noticeably lacking in the book, certainly crowded with other material, is any union participation in a conflict intimately tied up with job-issues as well as with broader matters. Too, the conception of Joe as a type lacks something of today's social texture. Joe Drew goes it alone. He is surrounded by allies, to be sure, but allies who do not really reflect the organized life of the people. Joe is a groping, but rugged, individualist who caps his victory over entrenched power by getting a job so good he had scarcely dared dream of it.

Joe becomes an inventor, with every facility at his disposal, a well paid employe of Osmond, the dynamic capitalist—and Joe's basic enemy. Joe finds scope for his creative powers within the *status quo*, and the reformer in him is held in troubled abeyance. But Joe plans—somehow—to prevent the use of his inventions to further his boss's plans for World War III.

With careful attention to the detailed development of character, Adria Locke Langley, in *A Lion Is in the Streets*, tells in fictional form the life story of an able demagogue whom she never calls Huey Long but who is Huey Long and perhaps a few others like him.

Using the sensitive mind of the wife of the main character as the lens through which he is examined, Mrs. Langley achieves a poetically rich—and ruthless—inspection of her subject. The physical details of living in remote sharecropper cabins, the lush verdure of the swamp country and the simple communal life of the Cajuns who dwell there, the biblical imagery infusing the speech of the people, the colors and smells and weather of the deep South are among the minutiae of the book which make its bold contrasts credible. These contrasts, centering around a struggle for and against all-dominating, all-corrupting political power, are as forthright as those in *Coming Home*, but they seem less rigged, less synthetic. A factor in achieving this effect is certainly the balancing presence in the story of Verity Martin, the quite troubled wife of Hank Martin (Huey Long).

The tone of the writing suggests that Mrs. Langley is not as familiar with political tracts as Mr. Cohen, but this possible lack of sophistication has not led her to miss an essential point of fascist personality—its cunning use of, and contempt for, the people. Furthermore, she pleads movingly that capacity lies within the people to overcome those who misuse them. If she has not used other relevant materials and attitudes, she has made her central and profound point with real skill. *A Lion Is in the Streets* is a first novel which will be remembered.

PHILIP STANDER.

Wind and Earth

THE GOLDEN BOWL, *by Feike Feikema. Webb Publishing Co. Minneapolis. $2.50.*

FEIKE FEIKEMA is a young Iowan of Frisian (Baltic German) ancestry. Like the land which he describes in his first novel he is himself "a big field from which most of the good soil has been eroded. . . ." He bears the mark physically and psychically of that long hunger and drought and the big dust winds that blew North Dakota into Iowa.

The villain of the *Golden Bowl* is this black wind and the hero might be said to be the ruined earth, whose vigor of survival is mythical. A wandering boy, driven off the Oklahoma land, his family dead and ruined, takes to the road, wanders into North Dakota to the home of Ma and Pa Thor, whose son has been lost in a crevasse of the

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cracking earth. Their daughter, Kirsten, survives in the ruin, parched as the earth but like it, fertile, alive, surviving.

It is a stark, simple Odyssey told as starkly as the reality—of the boy's confusion, his attempt not to be caught either in the earth's disaster or the hunger of woman, his flight and then return to the Thor farm—to the girl who already bears for him the future, whatever it may be—to the meager triumph of holding down the ruin in another black wind that threatens the last buildings, cattle, crop and hope. This scene, the triumph and climax of the book, is the storm striding over the little people in whom, within their hides leathered by sun, coated with dust, the fountain of man's inexhaustible blood still rushes. "In the hidden country of a pilgrim's heart rains are falling. The sun shines there, and men go into the fields and work, and believe in the work of their hands. And sow grain, and broadcast the seed of grass for their cattle and horses . . . and it is safe for the young lads to squire the girls, and to make and have children."

The strength and weakness of the *Golden Bowl* is its curious primitivism which in the best sense speaks for an almost painful honesty, a kind of stark understatement and limned simplicity which in its negative quality reduces event and style to a low and painful level of the consciousness of the main character, almost without comment or further dimensions by the author. This makes a kind of woodcut; it gives dimensionless and flat surface to the book.

The *Golden Bowl* speaks strongly of the fibre and quality of a new and important talent which has been recognized by a regional writing fellowship from the University of Minnesota and this spring by the award for creative literature from the National Institute of Arts and Letters.

MERIDEL LE SUEUR.

On Latin America

THE ARGENTINE REPUBLIC, *by Ysabel F. Rennie. Macmillan. $4.*

LATIN AMERICA IN THE FUTURE WORLD, *by George Soule, David Efron and Norman J. Ness. Farrar & Rinehart. $3.50.*

WITH the spotlight on Argentina as one of the remaining outposts of fascism, Ysabel Rennie's book on that country is both timely and helpful. Of the three books on Argentina reviewed here by this reader in the last year, it is by far the best.

Mrs. Rennie takes her account back to the interim period between independence in 1810 and the founding of the republic in 1853. The story is carried back to the Rosas tyranny "because there is no understanding the republic without knowing the system it was rebelling against" and because "there is no understanding the nationalist revolution without knowing how deep and native its roots are."

Well-balanced chapters describe how Argentina's dominant landed aristocracy was founded on cheap meat and cheap land; and how the country expanded in the period of 1860 to 1890 when the railroads were built and when the large-scale emigration of Italians, Spaniards, British, French, Germans, Belgians and Swiss occurred. The discussion of Argentina's struggle for economic sovereignty, the development of British control, the stranglehold of the Roca-Runciman pacts tying Argentina to Britain economically and the betrayal of national interests are skillfully handled and show the results of careful research. The same may be said of the excellent chapter chronicling the rise and fall of the once dominant middle-class radical party, and the account on Argentina and the war.

But in the final section dealing with the immediate prelude to the *coup d'etat* of the colonels in 1943 and with the nature of the nationalist revolution, Mrs. Rennie leaves much to be desired. Similarly unsatisfactory is the seven-page treatment of the labor movement and its activities and the inadequate discussion of the democratic underground in which the complete omission of the *Patria Libre* resistance group stands out. More important, however, is her suggestion that the colonels' regime has been carrying out a policy aimed at cutting ties with Britain, taking over British-owned companies and, in general, acting against British interests in Argentina.

Examination of the nature of British control discloses that in almost every case in which a British-owned company was taken over its long-term lease had expired many years ago or, as in other cases, British directors remained in control. This aspect of the economic program of Argentina's fascist regime obviously bears fuller investigation. The author's suggestion that the regime ordered the British-owned railroads to pay their employes back wages since 1934 also bears more careful examination. Investigation will show that in fact this sum was lent to the railroads by

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LOUIS PASTERNAK, Director

the government from a tripartite compensation fund to which the railroads had not contributed for many years. Mrs. Rennie's conclusion that this action resulted in increasing the government's popularity with the railroad unions has been strongly challenged.

IN *Latin America in the Future World*, prepared for the National Planning Association, George Soule, David Efron and Norman Ness are concerned with the basic problems of Latin America, with changes made during the war and with a forecast of postwar problems. Divided into three parts, the study does not have as its purpose to propose any final cure-all, but rather to point up some of the problems facing the nations of Latin America.

A summary of its contents will, perhaps, best describe the purpose of this book. Factually and in detail the following subjects are discussed: purchasing power, nutrition, housing and sanitation, health, geographic, cultural and land problems, land ownership, social and political status of labor, the pattern of economic activity. The second section deals with wartime influences on trade and the inflation problem, trade regulation, food, health and housing programs, educational advances, labor and social security legislation, land reform and agricultural diversification, wartime purchase programs and planned economic development. The final section on recommended policies deals with postwar policies of the Americas and proposed institutional arrangements.

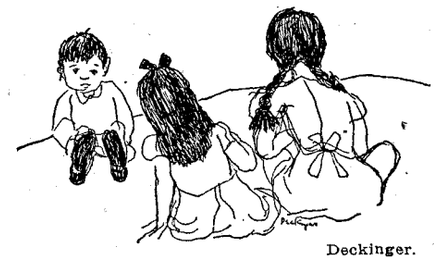
The major shortcoming of this otherwise excellent study is the omission of anything approaching a full account of the nature of foreign investments and control in the past, during the war and their relation to future planning. This omission is most striking in view of the thoroughness with which the authors have treated almost every other conceivable aspect of Latin America in the postwar world.

MARTIN T. BROWN.

Psychological Novels

THE GHOSTLY LOVER, *by Elizabeth Hardwick. Harcourt, Brace. $2.50.*
THE FOLDED LEAF, *by William Maxwell. Harpers. $2.50.*

THE straight psychological novel has been gaining in popularity as wartime maladjustments focus attention on neuropsychiatric problems. It is the treatment of such problems that distinguish these two novels. Both deal



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with the everyday tragedy of emotional insecurity; in both the difficulties of the central characters are the result of parental neglect; and both leave the impression that their characters have found solutions, though actually they have accepted the compensation of spiritual isolation.

While grief and loneliness are as poignant and unbearable for a man as for a woman, there is one vast difference: women must wait for what is to happen; men can go out and search for their explanations. Thus Marian of *Ghostly Lover* is the product of three generations of female compensation. Despite the right to vote and to hold jobs only the hardiest, bravest or most insensitive women have found release from the moral sentencing to the kitchen cocoon or the back street. Making this understood is one of Miss Hardwick's achievements. But there is an unevenness in the delineation of Marian that gives her an unreal quality. One feels with clarity the rebellious, acid cynicism of little Hattie, the Negro maid—feels it with understanding, respect and affection—but Marian, after her first few moments of reality, stalks woodenly through the story. She is torn and confused but the reader is confused *about* her and not *with* her. And though this novel is at times brilliant, clarity is sometimes sacrificed to literary subtleties. Some writers are too professionally offended by the obvious.

Mr. Maxwell, a more polished and experienced writer, retains style and clarity. His Lymie lives through the pages and his progress towards near-tragedy is real and heartbreaking. But one has a puzzled feeling that *The Folded Leaf's* characters do not quite run true to type. Where Miss Hardwick's Marian reaches self-sufficiency through rejection of what is offered, Lymie reaches it through acceptance. While Marian is left still looking for *reasons*, Lymie passes through the desert where people dwell who have "stopped justifying and explaining, stopped trying to account for themselves or their actions, stopped hoping that someone will come along and love them and so make sense out of their lives."

MARGARET BARRE.

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European Background

THE PRISONER, *by Ernst Lothar. Doubleday Doran. $2.75.*
YEARS BEFORE THE FLOOD, *by Marianne Roane. Scribner's. $2.50.*
THE INQUEST, *by Robert Neuman. Dutton. $2.50.*

THE theme of Ernst Lothar's new novel is important and intriguing. A young Nazi prisoner of war from Austria in a Colorado prison camp, menaced by the camp Gestapo, tells the story of his gradual denazification to an old friend of his father, a refugee professor teaching in a college near the camp.

The tense opening scenes of the Gestapo activities in United States prison camps pale down, however, into rather sentimental reminiscences of the boy's Vienna days, and, by presenting him as a not too indoctrinated Hitler Youth, the author throws away the opportunity of showing a real internal struggle for redemption. The book closes with an abrupt boy and girl reunion obviously aimed at a Hollywood sunset.

"YEARS BEFORE THE FLOOD" is a first novel by a talented Michigan University student. Its background is Germany in 1927, whose complications she knows only from hearsay and research. Thus her picture is fragmentary and often in error. The plot: an American visits relatives in Germany, gets a glimpse of small town life, tries to persuade his German cousin to go to America and succeeds suddenly when a friend of this cousin is strung up by young Nazi hoodlums. To this thin narrative Miss Roane has brought considerable power of character portrayal, and freshness and imagination. With a background in which she is more at home, more may be expected of her.

"THE INQUEST," the latest novel of the Austrian writer Robert Neuman, is written in his newly adopted language, English. The book shows no loss of skill in the new medium, being marked by well handled suspense, keen psychological analysis, and deft allusion. His anti-fascist heroine, Bibiana Santis, however, though very interesting, is a highly romanticized character. Her past is reconstructed little by little by an English novelist, Shilling, who spent a night with her immediately before her mysterious death. The mixture of anti-fascism with sexual passion, however, confuses the impact of the book.

CAROL PURVES.

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Brief Reviews

SURRENDER ON DEMAND, *by Varian Fry. Random House. $3.*

THIS story of the rescue of famous anti-fascist refugees by one of the agents of an American committee arrives too late to be of topical interest. The author further lacks the insight or the literary skill to draw from his experiences the larger political implications or the deeper human truths that might have given the book some lasting value. In his effort to make it an adventure story and to show himself knowing and adroit, the significant human elements are submerged. There is in it the peculiar obtuseness of the fortunately exceptional type of social worker who tries to be entertaining about experiences with undernourished children. The author reveals an even greater callousness toward Communist refugees from whom, apparently, he withheld aid although, as Communists, their danger was particularly great. Mr. Fry has since made his prejudices explicit in a letter to the *New Republic* resigning as contributing editor of that journal and assailing it for being *too pro-Soviet.*

POET TO POET: A TREASURY OF GOLDEN CRITICISM, *Edited by Houston Peterson and William S. Lynch. Prentice-Hall. $3.50.*

THE subtitle is inaccurate unless the meaning of the word criticism is extended to include eulogy and rhapsody. Less than half of the poems are critical in the accepted sense of the word. Most are tributes; and since tributes mainly appeal to traditional values there is a tendency to the conventional here even in the most unconventional poets. Nevertheless, this anthology is so well selected that it is continually interesting and valuable.

WRITING FOR FILMS

Hollywood.

THE first issue of *The Screen Writer* * was not preceded by elaborate promotion brochures or the kind of publicity calculated to make the prospective reader circle a date on his calendar and rush to the nearest newsstand to make sure his dealer saved him a copy. Perhaps that is just as well, for the initial number of the magazine passed a test which has banished many a publication launched more pretentiously to the scrap paper drive—the test of "trial by reader": does he want the next issue? Overwhelmingly he does.

To be published monthly by the Screen Writers Guild, the June *Screen Writer* in its editorial statement recognizes films as "the most important of all international cultural mediums" and the writer as the "primary creative force in the making of motion pictures," and forthrightly expresses the responsibilities ahead in the world struggle for peace. These responsibilities, the editors say, are those of everyday people everywhere, and the extent to which they are carried out successfully will depend upon maturity of outlook and a knowledge of what needs to be done. Films can contribute more toward developing this necessary awareness and clarity than any other means of communication. "The time for an *All Quiet on the Western Front* has passed. The people of the world know they don't want war. What they still lack is a full appreciation of the unity and cooperation which is necessary to avoid it."

Take, for example, the film critics and their professional relationships with screen writers, which has always been precarious and often threatens to disappear entirely at the drop of a typewriter. Theodore Strauss (who used to appraise movies for the New York *Times* before he began to write them) has dug into the question of reviewers in general and come forth with "No Jacks, No Giant Killers," a fairly unbiased attempt to produce an answer. Too few film critics know their medium, Mr. Strauss says; and from Hollywood, not many writers recognize the reviewer's obstacles—advertising and editorial pressure, often lack of background for evaluating a complicated art form, and a continuous stream of publicity which finally becomes a drop-by-drop torture and so slows critical processes. Mr. Strauss includes an examination of individuals who review for New York

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publications, and an appraisal of their methods, not overlooking the highly mathematical formula of James Agee (the *Nation*, *Time*) by which, its perpetrator insists, films may be reviewed without the boredom of watching them.

The author concludes that if the critic is to perform his function and deserve his title, a closer relationship must come about between reviewers and the industry "on the level of workmanship"—he points out correctly that the writers *as a group* have a greater influence on the content of motion pictures than any other category of craftsmen in the industry. And the writers, in order to carry through that responsibility for better films, need the critics' judgment—but on a different level from which it is now handed down. An essential for this, Mr. Strauss feels, is a basis for a consistent approach on the part of reviewers toward their medium, an approach which would embody analyzing films in their relationship to the world around them.

"No Jacks, No Giant Killers" should be the take-off for a detailed exchange of opinions and discussions. For many questions remain: How, for example, the New York reviewer is to deepen his knowledge of the industry, and specifically, what kind of consistent approach is needed. Judging even from living room conversations on what are known as quiet evenings, to say that the subject is controversial would be far-from-mild understatement.

FAR from mild, too, is the contribution of those writers in uniform who worked on war films. Several years ago, Harold Medford notes in "Report from a GI Typewriter," training and orientation films were so prosaic that they failed to keep their audiences awake. What was lacking, Hollywood had and gave—craftsmen and entertainment value. Mr. Medford puts it, "Not entertainment value in the sense of diversion . . . entertainment translated into terms of brain attraction which . . . may be translated into terms of teachability." As for the craftsmen, they faced deadlines and exigencies never experienced in the studios they had left, developed initiative they never knew they possessed, and returned with a skilled knowledge of the documentary form. That the war films also developed is demonstrated by *The Fighting Lady*, *Memphis Belle*, and a dozen or so others which almost everybody has seen. Mr. Medford, who wrote *Resisting Enemy Interrogation*, contends that in many cases the attributes of a good documentary can and should be utilized by the motion picture industry in entertainment films, with profit.

And on the profit side (the writers', this time) is Mary McCall, Jr.'s "Facts, Figures on Your Percentage Deal." Independent production has been on the upgrade, and while actors, producers, and directors concerned split the take in such cases, the writer usually takes a weekly salary—for as long as he is considered necessary. Miss McCall's experience on *The Sullivans*, which she wrote, was different—she had a share in the profits; and with a frankness too infrequent in such matters, described the details of the deal and its results, up to and including the amount of money involved. *The Screen Writer's* editors hope her article "will establish a precedent for candor."

NEW MASSES' correspondent would here like to establish a little precedent of her own. Uncertain of the degree of good taste or democracy which may be involved (after all, awards classify as weighty business and are voted on by lots of people) I should like to nominate Dalton Trumbo for a small, special Oscar on the merits of his monograph "Samuel Grosvenor Wood: A Footnote." The Oscar could be designed of course, in whatever plastics or other wartime materials are at hand, the only condition being that the little statue bear an understanding smile. The last phrase is deliberate: there are no other words for it. Mr. Trumbo understands Mr. Wood—but good. In one of the finest satirical essays I have read, the first president of the Motion Picture Alliance, the unwavering stalwart of the Hearst-front lines, has been reduced to the thickness of half a match. If that isn't sufficient to guarantee Mr. Trumbo an award, the last sentence of what he terms his enterprise ought to clinch it.

"THE SCREEN WRITER" is written, edited and published by professionals within the film industry, yet has no resemblance, real or fancied, to the "technicality" which sometimes frightens the outside reader. The layman (if he likes movies) who reads this first number will find several fresh ideas wheeling about in his head. That is as it should be, for writers may work the clock around to produce the kind of idea content-entertainment films needed today, but without an informed, critical, movie-going public which spells box-office, they will gain nothing except interesting circles under their eyes.

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